

Standing firm in Berlin

With negotiations toward a settlement of the Berlin crisis shifted back to Moscow, fears that the Western Powers had been blackmailed into further appeasement of their wartime "ally" were notably lessened. Clearly, the Berlin talks among the military governors were fruitless—an outcome which will disappoint only those who believe in agreement for agreement's sake. Certainly, the embattled citizens of Berlin, who are doing the actual suffering and have the most to lose, were in no way despondent over the barren results. On the contrary, right in the midst of the Berlin talks they staged a massive, spontaneous demonstration—nearly 250,000 were present in the Platz der Republik—against the Soviet Union. They seemed to be saying to the Western Powers: "We are behind you. We are willing to fight for freedom. Don't sell us out to the Russians." The Soviet authorities staged a counter-demonstration a few days later—and "staged" is the right word—to prove that the Germans are on their side. To the anger and confusion of the Kremlin, the relatively small size of the Russian show and the apathy of the herded crowd proved just the opposite. Meanwhile President Truman again announced that we are staying in Berlin, and this stand received magnificent support from Senator Vandenberg, who was obviously speaking for Governor Dewey. In a strongly worded statement, the Senator warned all interested parties not to be misled by our political customs. In the course of a Presidential campaign we say a good many angry and controversial things, but on the policy of opposing aggression and working for a just peace we are one, united people. In the atmosphere of dangerous tension which last week gripped Berlin, the firm stand of the Western Powers was reassuring. Barring some act of criminal folly on the part of the Moscow imperialists, it will lead eventually, as appeasement never would, to peace.

The last Hatch Act

The third regular UN Assembly, now meeting in Paris, has the job of selecting an International Law Commission from a list of candidates proposed by the member nations. The Commission will be directed to prepare a draft declaration on the rights and duties of states. Panama has already submitted a preliminary declaration, but only seven nations, plus the Secretary-General himself, have filed the comments and observations which the Second General Assembly invited. We commend to the early attention of the new commission (which the U. S. Catholic Bishops called for three years ago) the eighteen-article "Principles of International Morality." No, the Bishops didn't write the pronouncement, though it appears that they might well have done so. It is the work of the 37th convention of the Interparliamentary Union,

which met recently in Rome. Sixteen American Congressmen, led by Democratic Vice-Presidential candidate Alben W. Barkley, were among the 400 delegates from thirty-six parliaments. Final judgment must wait upon publication of the complete text, and upon the reports of our representatives; but fragmentary press reports indicate that our delegation is largely responsible for what appears to be a landmark on the road to a satisfactory code of international law. It transpires that the original drafting committee, on which the United States was not represented, had submitted what Senator Brewster labeled "an iron-curtain document drafted to embarrass the democracies." After the astute Senator from New Mexico, Carl A. Hatch, had been added to the committee, however, the ink began to flow. The draft finally adopted by impressive majorities is a monument to the Senator's perspicacity and to the courage of the entire U. S. delegation. The British Viscount Samuel, president of the Royal Institute of Philosophy, observed in a recent address that the scientists of the world have, by and large, returned to belief in spiritual values. What we have seen of "Principles of International Morality" encourages us to hope that the world's legislators, too, are hitting the sawdust trail. (We almost forgot to mention that the USSR was not represented at Rome.)

Vatican echoes

The Interparliamentary Union convention at Rome interrupted its sessions for a day to enable delegates from twenty-four of the participating nations to visit the Holy Father at his summer residence at Castel Gandolfo. After discoursing at length on the dangers of chauvinistic propaganda, His Holiness received the American delegation in special audience. The conference reconvened next day and voted approval of a strong denunciation of "propaganda favoring war or inciting to aggression." That may have been coincidental, but the same could hardly be said of the obvious fact that many of the "Principles of International Morality" (condensed below) clearly echo recommendations repeatedly made by the Holy Father during the past nine years.

Pattern for peace

To Catholic ears, declarations such as these will have a familiar ring: 1) states are governed by the moral principles of the governing individuals; 2) the United Nations eventually should assume "universal juridical expression" over all nations; 3) all states are equal before the law; 4) states have a strict "duty" to observe international conventions; 5) no state may judge its own cause in settling disputes; 6) the independence of states is inviolable politically, economically and otherwise; 7) no state may use its armed forces, except by agreement, on the territory of another independent state; 8) govern-

ments must oppose propaganda inciting to war and use propaganda to encourage friendly international relations; . . . 11) states have the urgent duty to collaborate for the limitation and progressive reduction of armaments under international control, inspection and supervision; . . . 14) states must mutually grant one another access to raw materials and to foreign trade; . . . 16) states must bear within the limits of their means the burden of harboring displaced persons, refugees, stateless persons, or persons fleeing from war, pestilence or natural catastrophes; 17) the removal of children from their own country and refusal to repatriate them are "flagrant violations of international morality"; 18) states must secure for their manual and intellectual workers respect for their dignity, their right to work, rest and leisure, and a fair remuneration for their labors. In the special audience for the American delegation the Holy Father expressed his "sincere appreciation of what the United States has done and is doing for humanity and for the world." By its apparently successful revision of the Inter-parliamentary Union's draft declaration, the bi-partisan U. S. delegation has shown that our nation has something more desirable than dollars to contribute to the world—the principles of Christian morality which have always been our veritable treasure.

By-passing the needy children

The undernourished and disease-threatened war children of the world seem soon to be faced with harder times than ever. They most certainly will, unless two organizations devoted to their care receive more cooperation and financial aid. The International Children's Emergency Fund, which has done splendid work under its wofully curtailed budget—and most of the curtailing came from U. S. failure to live up to its rosy promises—has outlined operations through 1949 which will cost \$78 million, but it has only \$37 million on hand or pledged, and government pledges for needy children have a strange way of being forgotten. And the United Nations Appeal for Children, which has been limping along in its fund-raising (cf. AM. 7/24, "Charity is still imperative"), has been given the final *coup de grace* in the recent decision of the UN Social and Economic Council to end the campaign on December 31. This decision has so disturbed Dr. Aake Ording, Director of the Appeal, that he has resigned his UN post and will devote all his energies to a last-minute attempt to revive the campaign. There is a slim and final hope that Dr. Ording's work may arouse enough public opinion to

make fruitful Australia's avowed intention of seeking to reverse, in the UN General Assembly, the Council's unfortunate decision. Dr. Ording earnestly requests that anyone who wishes to add his name to the list of supporters for a renewed Appeal for Children communicate with him at 12 Welwyn Road, Apartment 1K, Great Neck, N. Y. One most glaring example of how the needs of the children have been thoughtlessly ignored comes in the recent revelation that U. S. big business has contributed "very little" to the UN Appeal and this despite the fact that industrial profits in the first quarter alone of this year are up 7.9 per cent. If corporations are not easily motivated by charity, they might at least realize that helping to make the future consumers of the world healthy is most certainly good business.

Social action for the Americas

When the third Inter-American Conference on Catholic Action closed at Rio de Janeiro on September 9, an urgent appeal for Catholics to develop family-sized farms occupied a prominent place in the minutes. It was emphasized that the future of Christianity is closely related to such a program. This gathering, in which representatives of nineteen American countries participated, formally organized "The Inter-American Confederation of Catholic Social Action." Lively debates continued for an entire week. In the resolutions, conferees also called for: wider admission of displaced persons to the Americas; adoption of the "industry council system," with full autonomy for both employers and employees; promotion of consumer, producer and credit cooperatives. Finally, the conference urged adoption of a broad program of social education, with stress upon the social aspects of Christianity. In practice, the newly founded confederation is bound to encounter a variety of obstacles, deriving chiefly from the different conditions which prevail in the countries of both Americas. Obviously, not all the results attained will be evident immediately. The importance of the conference derives from the fact that various countries, with differing social and economic systems, now jointly seek a common basis for improvement of Catholic social action.

Labor's candidate

Republican efforts to woo certain AFL leaders, despite the belief of certain bigwigs that labor leaders can be safely ignored, received some compensation September 9 when the executive board of the Building Service Employees International Union endorsed Governor Dewey for the Presidency. But this action served only to emphasize the near-unanimity with which the leadership of labor is supporting President Truman. Except for the pro-communist bloc, which probably does not represent more than an eighth of its membership, the CIO is solidly for Mr. Truman. On August 31, an overwhelming majority of the executive board voted to endorse the Truman-Barkley ticket. The AFL, which only once in its history has endorsed a Presidential nominee—the elder La Follette in 1924—very nearly followed that precedent at a meeting of the administrative committee of its new

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League for Political Education in Chicago on August 25. But since William Hutcheson, of the Carpenters, is a life-long Republican, and Daniel Tobin, in addition to being angry at Mr. Truman, has on his hand an executive vice-president, the West Coast chieftain, David Beck, who is committed to Governor Warren, the committee stopped short of endorsing the Democrats. The top AFL officials did, however, under the leadership of George Harrison, of the Railway Clerks, set up a committee of union presidents for Truman. Of the more than 100 heads of AFL affiliates, Mr. Harrison claims that only two or three will refuse to cooperate. As never before, the nation's labor leaders have identified the interests of the workers with the Presidential aspirations of one of the two major parties. But following John L. Lewis' spectacular failure in 1940, when the miners refused to vote for Willkie, observers wonder skeptically whether labor leaders can deliver the rank-and-file vote. The election this fall will settle that question.

Quill on Wallace's candidacy

To charges that the Communist Party engineered the founding of Henry Wallace's misnamed Progressive Party, which are already well substantiated, Michael Quill, reformed leftist head of the Transport Workers Union (CIO), has just added strong confirmation. Addressing a conference of the New York State CIO-PAC on September 11, Mr. Quill, who, after years of fellow-traveling, broke sensationally with the Stalinists a few months ago, told of a meeting last December in the office of TWU's pro-communist attorney, Harry Sacher, at which he was directed to support the Wallace candidacy. Present at the meeting in addition to Mr. Quill were Eugene Dennis, secretary of the Communist Party, Robert Thompson, the Party's New York State boss, and John Williamson, CP labor commissar. Asked why Wallace should be supported, "even if it split labor right down the middle," the communist leaders bluntly informed Mr. Quill that the Party was sponsoring the new political movement. In their minds, as in the minds of every good Stalinist, this reason was sufficient to banish the scruples of a doubting brother. Although poor Henry Wallace is so thoroughly trapped and so completely befuddled as to be, humanly speaking, beyond redemption, some of his non-communist followers may still be capable of an objective judgment. To such, Mr. Quill's testimony ought to be convincing.

Crocodile sneers

Speaking of crocodiles, said the Thoughtful Observer, this Central Committee of the Communist Party in Moscow is really going to town. (The T.O.'s train of thought rides at times like a roller-coaster.) Now it is well known, he went on, that for the most part the comics are no longer funny—not funny-ha-ha, at least, though many of them are funny-peculiar. Plenty of psychologists are not amused by them. Plenty of politicians too, he continued, following a smoke-ring around our office, were not amused by one of our classic funny men—Thomas Nast, who gave us the Tammany tiger, the Democratic donkey

and the Republican elephant. If Mr. Nast did not drop dead, it was not for want of wishing on the part of Boss Tweed. Nast's achievement, and I quote, said the T.O., was by the weapon of satire to expose the thieves of public property, grafters, bureaucrats, boastful snobs, subservient individuals and rottenness, and I unquote. Now all these, continued the thoughtful one, are clearly the earmarks of a decadent capitalist bourgeoisie; and not the least of the mysteries wrapped in the enigma that lies behind the iron curtain is how they can be found under the benign rule of the Great Red Father. Yet the Central Committee, he said (leaping, as it were, from ambush upon the main point of his discourse), has ordered the Soviet magazine *Krokodil*—which I take to be a kind of Russian *New Yorker*—to pep up its attack upon all the nasty people I have just mentioned. The pun, he added parenthetically, is quite unintentional. My quote above, by the way, contained the very words of the Central Committee. Well, he concluded, some good may come of this, if *Krokodil's* biting satire should inspire the American press to something sharper than the languid and lackadaisical criticism of our Government offered, for instance, by Messrs. Hearst and McCormick.

Big Four and Italy's colonies

Strategic considerations, more than any other factor, dictated the U. S. position at the Big Four Conference on the fate of the Italian colonial empire. Whereas in 1945 we were ready to see these territories under United Nations trusteeship, now we agree with the British that the tense world situation necessitates maintenance of the status quo a while longer. Britain has extensive military installations in Cyrenaica, whence she moved after vacating Palestine. The United States has an air base at Mellaha, in Tripolitania, which she maintains until such time as the sovereign Power controlling the region requests its removal. With the British in control of Libya, we will stay, and without imperialist designs. Nor would an independent Italy ask us to move right now. But it seems certain that Italy, at present, could not defend the North African colony against Soviet or satellite attack. And it is doubtful whether she could keep Italian communist agitators and saboteurs from flocking to the colony. Hard-headed British thinking keeps reminding us that North Africa was the scene of heavy strategic offensives in the first half of World War II. Knowledge of this apparently led the Soviet to seek trusteeship of Tripolitania when the colonies were first discussed in 1945. Failing then, the USSR for three years stood firm on her position that the colonies should go back to Italian administration. The United Nations was not prominent in her thinking. Now we perceive the sinister motivation behind this apparently friendly gesture to Italy. Cominform plans called for taking over the new Italian Republic in 1948. Foiled in the elections, the Soviets hewed to the line of Italian colonial control up to the last minute. As the deadline for Big Four action approached on September 15, Russia's position shifted to favor UN trusteeship. This can be interpreted as another attempt to gain their objective—prompt with-

drawal of British and U. S. forces from North Africa. Unfortunately, in this strategic battle of the cold war, Italy's legitimate African interests recede to the background. This is not permanent. Right now, Italy could have the administration of Somaliland and, within a matter of months, of those parts of Eritrea not given Ethiopia. But before handing over Libya, it behooves us to discover the next Soviet move. With the Italian colonies question before the UN Assembly, we shall not have long to wait.

Italy's population

The future of Italy is inextricably bound up with her ability to bring population and resources into line one with the other. Pressure of population, however, is not used by Italy's statesmen as an argument for returning former colonies to Italian sovereignty. They place their hopes in increased opportunities for emigration to other lands rather than in a new imperialist policy. Premier de Gasperi, for instance, in a recent discussion of the emigration issue with New York State Labor Commissioner Edward Corsi, expressed the hope that more liberal immigration policies in Africa and other countries would enable Europeans to take up residence there and aid in resource development. Count Carlo Sforza, Foreign Minister, has similar views regarding the importance of emigration in the Italian recovery program. The predicament in which top Italian policy-makers find themselves can be understood from even a casual study of the facts. The land resources of Italy, much of them on the vertical, have very limited food-producing capacities. Industrial expansion is predicated on availability of raw materials which Italy does not have in any quantity and which are hard to obtain elsewhere under present conditions of world trade. Self-sufficiency is an illusion which the collapse of Mussolini's ambitious structure helped dispel. Yet population continues to rise. In 1872 there were upwards of 27 million people in Italy. In 1936 there were 43 million; at the end of 1946 an estimated 46 million. Today, despite intensive efforts at industrial expansion and reconstruction generally, Italy has at least two million unemployed. Only a partial solution can be found in migration of workers to France or other European countries experiencing labor shortages, presupposing that greater freedom of movement is encouraged. Other outlets for surplus population must be found. Hence the emphasis upon emigration. For this, cooperative agreements must be entered into with countries, such as Australia, in a position to receive immigrants. Shipping, too, must be available, and Italy's merchant marine is today only sixty per cent of pre-war. So, for effective application of ERP to Italy, some help in the way of shipping and emigration possibilities will have to be given. Otherwise the problem appears practically insoluble.

Forest wealth and morals

Ultimately the life of a region depends on its ability to produce. Destroy its soil or other source of wealth, and you turn it into a desert, capable perhaps of yielding subsistence to a few wandering nomads. Such is the fate

gradually overtaking Saguenay County, Province of Quebec. Aware that extractive lumbering practices, if continued, condemn his diocese of the Gulf of St. Lawrence to a lingering death, Bishop Napoléon-Alexandre La Brie this year wrote a thirty-two-page letter to his flock emphasizing the peril to themselves and their Church. The pastoral, perhaps without parallel to date on the North American continent, is simply entitled "The Forest." It attacks the problems, known by the Bishop since his youth in the region, on the highest socio-moral basis. The facts are courageously faced; detailed studies and reports are referred to. But the heart of the message is one that every religious-minded person in North America should ponder—our national wealth has been squandered, with little thought of the future.

We have been prodigal. Who would dare deny it? We have not treated the forests with the deference and the respect which are deserved by one of the most beautiful works of God. Egoists, we have dreamed of our profits without hearing the voice of our children who reproach us for not having increased this gift, but for having in a few years wasted a rich heritage.

In the near future an article on forest resources is planned for *AMERICA*. At that time we hope to say more of this most timely pastoral.

Women's extramural interests

Dr. Elizabeth Morrissey, economist of the College of Notre Dame of Maryland, has come up with some pointed observations on the old saw that "woman's place is in the home." In addressing the convention of the NCCW in New Orleans she declared: "It should be 'woman's interest is in the home.'" Many women stay at home to play bridge, she complained, or to read light literature or listen to soap operas. They might better be out working to foster the interests of home life through slum clearance, decent housing and improved schools. We agree with Dr. Morrissey. Many women, of course, have to work outside their homes to support themselves and others (AM. 7/5/47). We are not referring to them, nor to the mothers of young children who have a full-time job at home. But what about other housewives, even those who have families beyond the childhood stage? They cannot absolve themselves entirely of social responsibility. Since children must seek their education and recreation largely outside the home, mothers can hardly fulfill their duties entirely within its walls. Moreover, women are citizens. Soon after the war Pope Pius XII told Italian women: "We have heard the cry of fear which calls for her active presence as far as possible in the home." This "cry of fear" the Holy Father met with this moral challenge:

Every woman has then, mark it well, the obligation, the strict obligation in conscience . . . to go into action . . . to hold back those currents which threaten the home. . . . She has to collaborate with man towards the good of the State, in which she is of the same dignity as he.

It was not the Holy See but Hitler who confined women (for Hitlerian purposes) to the kitchen.

Washington Front

It might fairly be argued today that political adversity breeds leadership. The Presidential campaign now under way seems to emphasize the fact that the Republican Party in recent years has been able to develop numerous strong figures, while the Democrats, so long dominated by Franklin Roosevelt, have produced few. The situation is much like that of 1932, when Mr. Roosevelt came on the national scene with a company of bright, imaginative young men, while the Republicans were represented chiefly by tired old gladiators with neither spark nor spunk to stir the country.

What this adds up to in practical political terms today is that while Gov. Thomas E. Dewey can call on top-level GOP leaders for much assistance, President Truman must make his own case nationally almost alone. When he looks over his party's roster he finds few names which, by and of themselves, carry the kind of authority that can aid him by speech or statement. National Democratic Chairman J. Howard McGrath commands attention, and there are a few others—but only a few.

Yet Mr. Dewey, whenever he decides to let someone else do the talking, has competent spokesmen at hand. If he wishes to reply to Mr. Truman on labor, as he did, he can dispatch Harold Stassen to Detroit. When it is opportune to issue a foreign policy statement, there are

Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg or John Foster Dulles. But who can front for the President?

The woods are full of Republicans who have come up during the New Deal years. Tom Dewey was a young man fresh out of Columbia when such Old Guard Republicans as Reed Smoot, Jim Watson and George Moses were fading from the national scene. Nobody had heard of Harold Stassen. That goes for Earl Warren of California, for Messrs. Lodge, Saltonstall and Bradford of Massachusetts, Raymond Baldwin of Connecticut, Herbert Brownell and Irving Ives of New York, Alfred Driscoll of New Jersey, Everett Dirksen of Illinois, Dwight Griswold of Nebraska and others. Senators Vandenberg and Taft are older but remain leaders of ability.

Franklin Roosevelt's almost total domination of the Democratic Party is sometimes set down as the reason for failure to develop strong, new leadership. Yes or no, it probably is a fact that a minority position, forcing development of a kind of guerilla tactics to offset lack of numbers, toughens fiber and sharpens wit. The GOP has had such a minority position. It may be worth noting that many old New Dealers left government to capitalize in private business on their Washington prominence.

There are younger Democrats coming up who may be ascendant national figures four or eight years hence. Howard McGrath is one, and others are Brien McMahon of Connecticut, Francis Myers of Pennsylvania, Estes Kefauver and Albert Gore of Tennessee, Mike Monroney of Oklahoma. But today the GOP seems to have the edge.

CHARLES LUCEY

Underscorings

The same note of a Catholic "policy of presence" was sounded last month in Cambridge, Mass., and Muenchen-Gladbach, in the British Zone of Germany. At the ninth annual Teachers' Institute of the Boston Archdiocese, on August 30, Rev. Charles J. Mahoney, Diocesan Superintendent of Schools, said:

If we are going to promote the cause of justice and reform of the social order in America, we must begin first in the neighborhood, which is the very basis and heart of American political democracy; and to do this we must educate our high-school boys and girls. It is far more important to teach them to know who the ward leaders are, and what kind of men they are and how they are going to be selected, than to know the process by which a bill is passed in the legislature or the number of State Senators. . . .

Earlier in the month, addressing a three-day conference of the Catholic Labor Guilds at Muenchen-Gladbach, Bishop Van der Velden of Aachen had said:

No Catholic worker should shirk the duty of active participation in the labor unions and regard personal comfort as more important than labor-union action. Catholic workers should carry into their labor union the strength of their conviction, a sense of true social responsibility and a Christian spirit of

brotherhood. . . . They must also play a constructive role in politics. . . . Some people seem to be afraid that their hands might become dirty when they do this. But they are mistaken. . . . Religion and life cannot be separated.

► Back from Cornell University, where he had attended a Conference on teaching Labor Economics, Father William J. Smith, S.J., writes in his breezy *Crown Heights Comment* (Brooklyn, N. Y.):

The one fact that seemed to stick out all over the place was the realization of the role that the colleges can and must play in the development of union and management representatives in the American scene. . . . We would like some time to attend a series of round-table discussions where about a dozen experts from secular colleges and a dozen from Catholic institutions would toss around the question: "Catholic, Socialist and Liberal Concept of Industry and Society." It would make for an interesting week-end.

► In Shanghai, Sept. 9, died Bishop Auguste Haouisée, aged 70, first bishop of the diocese of Shanghai. He came to China forty-years ago, to teach in Aurora University. Ordained in 1910, he was named Coadjutor to Bishop Paris of the Nanking Vicariate in 1923, and succeeded him in 1931. The Shanghai Vicariate was detached from this in 1933 and became a diocese in 1946. Bishop Haouisée was particularly dear to the Chinese, being free from the occupational defect of some missionaries—identification of their own native culture with the chief values of Christianity.

C. K.

Editorials

Southern liberals and Mr. Wallace

In our correspondence of the week we received a letter from a quite conservative Southernish gentleman who has recently decided to join the Wallace party. He appears to be guided by the fact that the world, as he has always experienced it, is most of the time out of joint, and he sees in his proposed action a way of expressing his dislike of the entire scheme of things. In his letter he explains that while he intends to vote for Wallace, he has just taken steps to have the Dixiecrats placed upon the ticket of his native State. As he seems to figure out, there is little practical difference between the two parties. One has as much good nuisance value as the other.

From the standpoint of maintaining white supremacy, the aforesaid gentleman's action is not quite as illogical as may appear. When the net effects are reckoned, Mr. Wallace may be found to have worked just as effective a service to the cause of white supremacy in the South as the Dixiecrats could render. In the past, reckless Red-baiters provided the Communists with a handy weapon for commanding sympathy and for furthering their own propaganda. In similar fashion, Mr. Wallace's completely irresponsible baiting of Southern racial sentiment has provided the reactionary element in the South with a perfect picture of the intolerant, intrusive, meddling Northerner. And the picture is all the more effective because it is brilliantly tinted with red.

The term "completely irresponsible" is not just a chance epithet. The irresponsible factor in Mr. Wallace's procedure is evident from his neglect to face with equal directness the question of racial discriminations in the North. It is glaringly evident from his total ignoring of the changes and ameliorations that have been steadily accumulating in the South, not only as to the educational and economic conditions of the Negro but in the pattern of race relations as well. Mr. Wallace, one would gather, would rather cut off his right hand than mention even such items as the fact that both the AFL and the CIO unions have been holding meetings devoid of racial segregation, or that a Negro has been playing in a championship football game in Durham, N. C. And he totally ignores the liberal personages and movements which are steadily working for improvements.

These organizations and the persons who direct them are 100-per-cent Southern themselves. As responsible citizens they assume the full burden of incurring whatever criticisms may be directed against their very far-reaching programs. Mr. Wallace is well acquainted with them. But they are anathema to him *because* they are liberal, in a genuine sense, and by that very token are a

standing reproach to his own collaboration with a movement which aims not at striking off men's shackles but at total world enslavement. And they are a reproach to Mr. Wallace's personal conduct as well. For no person is less qualified to discuss racial discrimination than a man who, while occupying in succession two lofty positions under the Roosevelt regime, set a crude example of the very practices he now denounces (AM. 7/17).

There is nothing new in communist hostility to movements for genuine social reform. The principle was established by Lenin at the outbreak of the Russian Revolution, when he ordered the sabotaging of the beneficent reforms inaugurated by the Russian Social Democrats in 1905. In his irresponsible methodology Mr. Wallace possesses a handy tool for the destruction of any liberal movement which may block his ambitions. The latest example of this particular menace is the million-dollar fund recently placed at the disposition of Mr. Wallace, Dr. Stringfellow Barr, Prof. Scott Buchanan (of Great Books fame) and associates, for the supposed furthering of the world federalist movement. In reality the donation will give the movement well-nigh a kiss of death.

But the liberal elements in the South that have been courageously weathering the blasts of reactionaries, are not apt to be easily shaken by any new gales that blow up from the windy quarters of Henry Wallace. The problem they face is not confined to their region alone, but is nation-wide, and they command the nation's cooperation and sympathy. Mr. Wallace, like his allies, the Dixiecrats, may soon discover that he has stimulated to bolder effort the liberals whose leadership he had schemed to destroy.

The "organic whole"

A very simple question goes frequently unasked. It may be expressed as follows: can we afford to remain confused and uncertain as to the goals of our life and our culture? Is a negative mood, one of easy indifference to ultimate goals and values, simply a luxury with which we can perfectly well afford to indulge ourselves? Or is it a grim sign of disintegration and decay?

Quite bluntly, a warning on this point was uttered by Viscount Samuel, president of Britain's Royal Institute of Philosophy, who told a meeting of the British Association of Science that religion and philosophy have failed to give effective leadership to modern man; and that this failure, even though science provides the facts, has left man confused and uncertain. Said Lord Samuel:

This negative mood is revealed in the arts, particularly in fiction, the theatre and the cinema, which have widely become non-moral. Crime today is entertainment; murder is a parlor game; adultery is

taken as a matter of course; compunction and remorse have little place and religion rarely enters.

In reply to this, a Catholic may well exclaim: "Why do you tell us that? The modern man has got into this trouble because he has departed from the clear and straight path laid down for him by Christian faith and Christian moral teaching. Since he has abandoned the source of certainty, and taken refuge in his own weak and fallible private judgment on matters about which only God can speak with authority, it is no wonder that he is unable to find his way around in the world. The obvious course is for him to return to the fear of God as the beginning of wisdom."

Such a rejoinder states a perfectly obvious truth, but it does not state the whole truth; which is that though the great principles of faith and morality are in themselves plain enough, the way is not wholly clear by which people who have departed from these principles are to find their way back to knowledge of them. And if this is the case, can we, who are sure of our ground, afford to make no effort to construct any bridge or meeting-ground whereupon such a return can be made a practical possibility? Even though we may not *bring* people to our beliefs, may we not at least clear a path over which they may travel to our beliefs, without doing violence to their own conscience and better judgment?

The critical situation in which our country now finds itself has aroused us to the danger of mere drifting in matters of foreign political policy. Is this trend any more safe when we are dealing with the aims of life itself? Even though we may enjoy our own personal spiritual security, do we think it to our good to live in a community where such a policy of spiritual drift prevails? And if our answer is No; then how do we stand when we attempt to go counter to such a drift?

The relations of the believer with the unbeliever in the modern world, says Father M. J. Congar, O.P., all too often resemble a conversation between deaf people. Our ideas are magnificent, but no matter how loudly we proclaim them we are still like W. H. Auden's cataract shouting to a stone-deaf stone. And how can we really expect to converse with others, if we do not know what is in their minds as well?

An example of what could be done, or at least attempted in this respect, is afforded by the annual Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion, which held its ninth meeting September 7-10 at the Men's Faculty Club of Columbia University. The representatives of a wide variety of human interests and learning who met for the conference did not undertake to debate the ultimates in theology or metaphysics. They confined themselves, as is their custom, to fields wherein there already exists a general consensus as to the importance of the topic and its practical bearing on everyday questions that most of the conference members are in some way or other concerned with. This year the "Goals of Higher Education" were discussed, in their relation to the changing conditions of the modern world. Eventually the findings of the discussion will appear, as they have in former years, in book form.

The fruit of these conferences over the years has been an increased understanding of all concerned as to the workings of their respective mentalities. But it has also shown that secularism, with all its panoply of endowed wealth, scientific prestige and dogmatic self-assurance is being placed more and more on the defensive in the world of serious and coordinated thought. The organic whole, says Lord Samuel, gives proof of the cosmos in terms that do not destroy but exalt religion. When educated men, of good will and a fund of common interests, meet and patiently discuss, and try as best they can to make some "organic whole" of a disorganized modern intellectual world, a pathway is opened to the rediscovery of religion by those who have now forgotten it.

New hope in Germany

Elsewhere in these pages are recorded the latest developments in the hard struggle to prevent the insatiable imperialists in the Kremlin from swallowing Berlin and thus destroying the last island of freedom in Eastern Germany. What cast the situation last week in a somewhat more hopeful light, despite the sterile talks between the Russians and the Western Powers and the disorders in Berlin, was the growing determination of the German people, in the face of the grave risks involved, to fight to the end for freedom. Visitors recently returned from Germany are agreed that, like all the peoples of Europe, the Germans dread the possibility of another war; but they are also agreed that the majority of the German people, having had so recently the bitter experience of living under one totalitarian regime, have no stomach for submitting to another.

After the stirring resistance of the beleaguered citizens of Berlin, perhaps the finest show of German determination and will to fight for democratic liberties comes from the Allied-sponsored Germany Parliamentary Assembly, now meeting in Bonn to draft a constitution for a Western German government. There has been remarkably little bemoaning, among that body, of the quite likely fact that the East is lost to a unified Germany. Instead, Dr. Konrad Adenauer, President of the Assembly, confidently and courageously stated on Sept. 2 that Western Germany will be able to handle itself and to take its place with the other nations of the world. Nor will the Assembly, he added, have anything to do with the "national front" line advocated by the Communists, which he calls a return to the Nazi nationalist doctrine.

The popular will, then, is hardening against the Communists, and in ways which bid fair to assist appreciably the general reconstruction and security of Europe this side of the iron curtain. This fact alone proves the wisdom of the Western Powers in determining to stay in Berlin, and indicates what folly it would be to falter.

The gallant struggle of German democrats is gradually winning worldwide support.

On Sept. 3, the Pope sent a response to a message of filial devotion dispatched to him by German national Catholic youth leaders. Assuring them that "their troubles do not leave Us indifferent," he exhorted them:

Do not lose hope! See to it that your young people do not become embittered under the present stress. Open your eyes to what is good in other countries as well . . . do all in your power . . . to educate the young people entrusted to your care in order that they may fear God and be truthful, that they may pray and observe discipline and purity, that they may have courage and the will to work. . . .

From another direction entirely came further evidence of sympathy. Home from a trip to Europe, during which he visited union leaders in Berlin, David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union and long-time fighter for democracy and human dignity, rushed to the White House to offer what support he could. Speaking to reporters after his visit with the President, he said:

I am worried. I think we will ultimately be pushed out of there [Berlin]. Hitler put the trade-union leaders in concentration camps, but Stalin will chop their heads off. I told the President that in the event we were pushed out of Berlin, we should protect them and not leave them there.

But the President reassured Mr. Dubinsky, told him that "we will not go out of Berlin."

The struggle for Berlin will live in history. It may yet turn out to have been the catalytic agent which stirred the West to greater unity, the Germans to life and the free world to a stronger front against the communist threat.

Our policy in perspective

The American public has been understandably perplexed by the spy investigations conducted by the Un-American Activities Committee. How could high-ranking American officials tolerate the employment of suspected Communists in Washington?

Bombarded by the headlines of events crowding in on us morning, noon and night, our minds soon get punch-drunk. We cannot revive the attitudes we entertained two or three years ago. All of us are now alert to the fierce antagonism between Soviet communism and western democracy. But what seems intolerable to us now, we must recall, did not seem equally so to a great many Americans at the war's end.

To call back to life the outlook of yesteryear you need only recollect a few of the expressions of "informed" opinion about Russia current during the war. Do you remember when Joseph E. Davies' *Mission to Moscow* was a best seller? Or Wendell Willkie's *One World*, with its benevolent chapter on the USSR? Did not the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943 kindle flickers of hope in many a doubting heart?

One cannot afford to blink the fact that it was possible so short a while ago to imagine that Russia might emerge from the war decidedly more "democratic," or at least cooperative, than the Marxist blueprint to which it was committed. There was some basis in the history of the Russian Revolution for an optimistic view. Soviet policy, both domestic and foreign, had gone through at least four cycles. Two of them, in the periods of 1917-1921

and 1928-1934, had followed an all-out Marxist orientation. But two others, in the periods of 1921-1928 and 1934-1940, had made a strategic retreat from the blueprint. Who could predict for certain which way the Russians would turn after the war? This uncertainty, transformed into a desperate hope, helps to explain why the Roosevelt Administration made concessions to the Russians in an effort to woo them to cooperative programs.

As the USSR emerged from the war, however, it became ever more clear that this hope was unfounded. Stalin's election-day speech in February, 1946 gave the warning signal. He ascribed the outbreak of war to the conflicting imperialisms of fascism and democratic capitalism. Instead of attributing the repulsion of the Nazi invaders to "Russian valor," as the Kremlin had done during the war, he switched back to the old line by citing victory as a sign of the superiority of the "Soviet system." Thereafter Soviet troops, which had spread over Eastern Europe to "liberate," remained to sovietize. The Kremlin nullified the Big Three military-control councils. It fomented civil war in Greece and China. It backed Tito's threat to take over Trieste.

In the UN, Russia exploited her privileged position to shelter her own aggression against Iran and Greece. She used it to isolate Spain and to debar qualified neutrals like Eire, Portugal and Switzerland. Meanwhile she intensified Communist Party activity in Italy and France to a point where those two nations have been, to date, barely able to maintain constitutional governments.

Even more ominously, the USSR embarked upon a systematic program to liquidate or handcuff legal opposition by eliminating its leaders—Mikolajczyk in Poland, Nagy and Kovacs in Hungary, Petkov in Bulgaria, Maniu in Rumania, and Masaryk and Benes in Czechoslovakia. The recent deaths, within a week, of three prominent CP leaders in Moscow itself seem hardly coincidental. Offensives against religious and even scientific opposition and "deviation" have lately been intensified. Collectivization is the order of the day in the satellites. The Cominform is in full swing.

Russia's efforts to sabotage the ERP, climaxed by her brazen violence aimed at subjugating Germany, have therefore closed the books on what remained, until the end of 1947, a partly open question. The test of intentions comes only with the power to carry them into execution. Stalin has exploited Russia's powerful postwar position to throw into high gear the oft-concealed long-range and unswerving aim of revolutionary Marxism: to imprison all peoples under Soviet domination. That is the verdict, and the final verdict, of 1945-1948.

Seen in this perspective, our policy toward Russia becomes more intelligible. We made serious mistakes. But, in view of the alternatives, was not cooperation worth trying? And when it failed, was not the Truman Doctrine of March, 1947 well conceived and well timed? It paved the way for ERP, which has saved Western Europe until now. To balk this program, Russia is presently bringing the East-West crisis to a climax. We have no alternative now but to adopt measures strong enough to cope with it.

Aftermath of the McCollum decision

Robert C. Hartnett

Father Robert C. Hartnett, S.J., author of the America Press booklet "Equal Rights for Children," expounded the legal issues involved in the McCollum case in the April 24 issue of AMERICA, and here discusses the repercussions of the Supreme Court's decision.

Six months have elapsed since the Supreme Court rendered its far-reaching decision in the McCollum case. Ever since, discussions of its significance have held the spotlight in educational meetings and writings as well as in legal journals. What has emerged is the realization on both sides that the underlying issue is nothing less than this: is religion to be progressively walled off from American democracy or can ways be found of breaking through what looks like an ideological encirclement?

To appreciate the gravity of the blow suffered by religious forces here in the United States we must realize that the decision came at the very hour when atheistic communism was pulverizing religious opposition in the widened Soviet orbit, is still hovering like a menacing cloud over Western Europe, and has worked its way into both North and South America. The McCollum decision has to be viewed in terms of the worldwide struggle of the "cold war" between the materialistic totalitarianism of the USSR and the basically spiritual democracy of the United States. The decision was a rebuff administered by our Supreme Court to the very cause for which we stand.

Secondly, we must be aware that the decision dismantled—how completely we still do not know—a long-developing movement to find a place for religion in our public school system. For many years we have called American public education "Godless" because it was set up as an alternative to schooling under religious auspices. Since the publication of Dr. George U. Wenner's *Religious Education and the Public School* in 1905, however, a more religious philosophy of public education has been gaining adherents. In their minds, the public school was failing to weave the strands of a child's in-school instruction into the pattern of social activities and interests which go to make up community living. Some way of relating public education to the great community interest in religion had to be found. Dr. Wenner himself suggested the "released-time" arrangement to accomplish this purpose. It was first adopted in Gary, Indiana, in 1913-14.

Under this system a *modus vivendi* between the church and the school was worked out. Students were "released" from class in the public school one period each week on condition that they attended religious classes conducted by teachers supplied and paid by various religious groups. The form of cooperation between public-school authorities and sponsoring religious groups varied from place to place. But everywhere it was substantial. Under the RT arrangement religious instruction was given during a period set aside within the regular public-school day. Children not attending RT classes had to attend public-school classes. Attendance records of RT classes were kept and filed as part of the student's public-school

record. In Albany, N. Y., to take one example among many, credit towards graduation was allowed as "not only legal but profitable and desirable."

"Dismissed time" is a variation of RT in which school authorities dismiss all students one hour early once a week to facilitate the voluntary attendance of public-school children at sectarian classes. Its chief purpose, as distinct from RT, is to obviate any closer tie-in of sectarian instruction with public-school administration.

An important question touching RT is whether the religious classes are held in or out of public-school buildings. In some States, such as Arkansas, Connecticut, Kansas, Missouri, Michigan, Indiana and Pennsylvania, the courts ruled that under their respective laws no sectarian instruction could be given on public-school property. In Nebraska such instruction was allowed only outside of school hours. Regulations issued by the New York State Commissioner of Education in 1940 specifically provided for off-the-premises RT instruction. All told, thirty-three States permitted this type. Illinois, the State in which the McCollum case arose, was among the jurisdictions allowing RT classes to be conducted within the public schools themselves. By the time the Supreme Court declared the Illinois system illegal as a step in the direction of the "establishment of religion," 800,000 children were receiving on-the-premises RT instruction. Another million or more—up-to-date figures are unavailable—were receiving RT instruction in various places separate from public-school buildings, the constitutionality of which is now the subject of serious doubt. Some 2,000-3,000 communities had adopted the one or the other.

But RT (including "dismissed time") does not give the full story of the growing effort to re-integrate religion and public education. Bible reading is required in the public schools in twelve States and permitted in another twenty-four. Courts have upheld the reading of the Bible by the classroom teacher without comment as "non-sectarian" and hence legal in California, Colorado, Georgia, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Pennsylvania and Texas. The Lord's Prayer and the singing of religious hymns have passed the judicial test in Georgia, Illinois (where Bible-reading, however, is *verboden*), Iowa, Kentucky, Massachusetts and Michigan. A Michigan court upheld the teaching of the Ten Commandments. On the other hand, either because of sectarianism in the choice of the version or because of discrimination against non-Christians, the reading of Scripture has been ruled out by courts in Illinois, Louisiana, Nebraska, Washington and Wisconsin.

Despite this variation, the most important fact to observe is that through a variety of practices, including the use of churches for commencement exercises and even the employment of nuns as public-school teachers, local

school boards have maintained and even intensified the association of tax-supported schooling with the religious life of America. No compulsion was used. No practices were continued in clear opposition to the rulings of courts. Local communities made the adjustments within the framework of the United States and State constitutions because of what have been called "felt needs."

It is a fact, and a significant fact, that practices involving this *modus vivendi* were spreading. The significance lies not in any design to "undermine the Constitution," but in the clear recognition that education without religious instruction was seen to be incomplete and inadequate. By 1947 eighty-five per cent of the eligible students in Boston (23,000 in seventy school districts) were enrolled in a program of RT which jumped from nothing to proportionately the largest in the United States in five years. In New York City 111,639 students participated—twenty-nine per cent of those enrolled in the public elementary schools; in Saint Louis, 22,000; in Chicago, 25,000, of whom four-fifths were under Catholic instruction. Since every child enrolled had to certify parental consent, these mounting enrollments surely demonstrated that the RT programs were fast growing in favor with American fathers and mothers. Indeed, the programs offered a rare opportunity for American parents to determine what their children should study.

REACTIONS TO THE MCCOLLUM DECISION

As these parents are not organized, however, we still do not know how they and their children feel about the action of the Supreme Court.

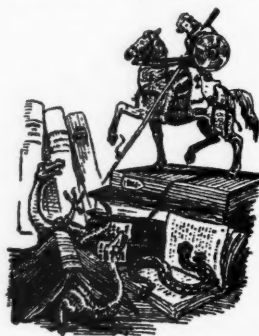
Some well-organized pressure groups immediately acclaimed it as a great vindication of religious freedom, of "the American principle of separation of church and state," etc. The National Educational Association rejoiced. This body, counting nearly a million public-school teachers and administrators in its membership, has inveterately fought any arrangements whereby religious educators would receive one iota of public support. The president of the National Teachers Guild and the Public Education Association applauded the decision and declared that even off-the-premises RT systems fell under the constitutional ban. Local units of the Civil Liberties Union and quite a few other organizations (at least in New York) took the same position.

The Troy (N. Y.) Methodist Conference and the Episcopal diocese of Bethlehem (Pa.) expressed great satisfaction. The Seventh Day Adventists, the American Unitarian Association and the American Ethical Union were actively on Mrs. McCollum's side. Bishop Oxnam and his Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State saw in the ruling a consummation devoutly wished. The *Christian Century* (Liberal Protestant) heartily endorsed what it regarded as a "resounding defeat for the efforts of the Roman Catholic Church to secure tax funds to support its schools." The Baptists split on the issue. The Southern Convention was happy. The Northern had taken no stand. The American Baptist Board of Education and Publication had heartily backed

RT for twenty-five years, so they were put out. The Board of Trustees of the Detroit Baptist Missionary Society publicly deplored the approval given by Baptist spokesmen. Rabbi William F. Rosenblum, president of the Synagogue Council of America, and Henry Epstein, chairman of the National Community Relations Advisory Council—two coordinating bodies for many Jewish religious and secular organizations—had filed briefs on Mrs. McCollum's side. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith declared the Supreme Court had strengthened "the integrity of free religion and free public education." Dr. Maurice Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, took the occasion to sound a call to battle against sectarian instruction in the public school.

But dissent and alarm were expressed in many quarters. Protestant, Catholic and Jewish groups sponsoring RT programs in many localities were, of course, among them. Catholics unanimously condemned the secularist implications of Justice Black's majority opinion. Leaders of the Religious Education Association disliked it. They were joined by the National Association of Evangelicals;

Dr. Joseph R. Sizoo, president of the New Brunswick Seminary; Episcopal Bishop Dun of Washington, D. C.; D. Stewart Patterson, Executive Secretary of the Methodist Commission on Chaplains; and Dean Luther Weigle of Yale University. The *Living Church* (Episcopalian) objected that if present trends continue



we shall soon find that "the only religion that is fully constitutional is atheistic materialism." Christian Gauss of Princeton University found serious fault with the decision in the *Ladies Home Journal* for September, 1948. Dr. F. Ernest Johnson, professor of Education at Columbia University, made a searching criticism of it in *Religious Education* for July-August. An article in the May issue of *Phi Delta Kappa* by W. W. Carpenter, national secretary of the Professional Educational Fraternity, strongly objected: "We can have education without religion, but it will not be the type of education that will perpetuate a democracy." Twenty-four Protestant leaders—including bishops and theologians—joined in a statement labeling the decision "unwarranted."

Interestingly enough, several members of the U. S. House of Representatives rose in Congress to assail the violence done to American education by the Supreme Court: Representatives J. Edgar Chenoweth (R., Col.), Dwight L. Rogers (D., Fla.), Herbert A. Meyer (R. Kan.), Sam Hobbs (D., Ala.), Charles J. Kersten (R., Wis.), an alumnus of Marquette University, and Thomas L. Owens (R., Ill.), an alumnus of Loyola University. The *Wall Street Journal* added its voice of disapproval. And the *American Bar Association Journal* for June declared critically: "It is a pronouncement by our Supreme

Court on a fundamental principle, not only of national policy but of our civilization and way of life."

REALIGNMENTS

While he concurred with the majority opinion, Mr. Justice Jackson warned his colleagues that they were opening the door to a flood of legal actions instigated by any of the endless variety of religious malcontents in over 100,000 school districts in our country. In the past the school boards in these districts, with their fingers on the pulse of local feeling, have succeeded in meeting the need for some rapprochement between public education and the religious needs of our children within the limits of the discretion allowed them by the courts. Justices Jackson and Frankfurter both appreciate the role of administrative discretion at the local level as the best means of composing the ever-rising conflicts between legal rules and social needs. But Mr. Justice Black's sweeping and ill-defined opinion for the Court disrupted this process of social adjustment.

The decision threw serious doubt on the constitutionality of RT programs outside public-school buildings. John L. Franklin, attorney for the Champaign Board of Education, thinks this question is left "in the balance." William Jansen, Superintendent of Schools in New York City, insists that such a program, which has long been followed in New York, remains legal. Harold C. Hunt, Chicago Superintendent of Schools, rendered the same opinion. Educators and churchmen in Minnesota, Oregon, Utah and Kentucky (where it is official) are also following this interpretation.

On the other hand, pressure groups bent on completely divorcing public education from religion insist that the New York type of program falls under the constitutional ban. Joseph Lewis, president of the Freethinkers Society of America, has instituted a suit in New York to enjoin continuation of off-the-premises RT. Such a restraining order was actually granted in Saint Louis by Circuit Judge William H. Koerner: "Whether these sectarian classes are conducted in the school building or elsewhere," he said, "can make no difference, since attendance upon them during compulsory school hours is deemed attendance at schools." The legal adviser to Michigan's Department of Public Instruction issued an opinion in which she said: "Religious training classes may not be conducted in public-school buildings, *nor can Michigan's compulsory school law be used in any way to enforce sectarian training classes elsewhere*" (italics inserted). By quarantining religion the way he did, Mr. Black undoubtedly gave reason to believe that the Court was closing the door on RT, even where instruction is given outside public-school buildings. Most of the children getting RT instruction are enrolled in this type of program. If the Supreme Court knocks it out, RT will be a dead duck.

Meanwhile State administrative officials upon whom falls the burden of conforming to the new ruling are finding it hard to decide exactly what is now constitutional and what is unconstitutional. Massachusetts contends that its system of off-the-premises instruction is not

affected. Pennsylvania is making the same presumption. Indiana advises dropping the practice of keeping public-school records of attendance at such classes. California finds the decision baffling in scope and confesses that it has "cast a cloud" over the legality of off-the-premises RT. Illinois has decided that such instruction is unconstitutional: its Superintendent of Public Instruction has ordered any form of RT (but not "dismissed time") to be dropped. In North Dakota the Interchurch Council has even withdrawn the "non-sectarian" course in Bible study it sponsored. This confusion is the result of the present Supreme Court's habit of writing what one constitutional authority has described as "legal essays instead of decisions."

CONCLUSIONS

My own opinion is that the McCollum decision will not be able to stand the strain it will have to bear. When its implications are unfolded they will collide with Bible reading in the schools; with chaplaincies in prisons, in Congress, at Annapolis and West Point and in the armed services generally; with the GI Bill of Rights (to which hardly anyone refers); with tax exemptions; and even with the printing of the annual Presidential proclamation of Thanksgiving Day—which is an "aid" to religion. The Supreme Court has reversed itself often in the past, especially in the recent past, and Mr. Justice Jackson's concurring opinion sounds as if he were poised for a reversal. It is hard to see how he can let pass another opportunity of putting some limitation on the practice of what he called making laws out of "our own prepossessions."

Meanwhile we must look into the possibilities of alternatives to RT, which we shall do in these pages very soon.

The issue in the West Coast strike

Benjamin L. Masse

No group of American citizens, especially one so vulnerable to public opinion as a group of employers, lightly rejects a proposal by the U.S. Army. The public, therefore, may reasonably presume that the Waterfront Employers Association and the Pacific American Shipowners Association, speaking for the entire West Coast shipping industry, had good and sufficient reasons when they turned down an Army request to handle Army cargoes during the strike called by Harry Bridges' longshoremen and several other unions.

Actually this appears to be the case. According to a statement issued on September 11, the following are the grounds on which the employers took their stand:

1. "It would not be in the best interests of the Army mission to resume the handling of its cargoes if it required again saddling the operation with the harassment and sabotage of communist party-line labor leadership.

2. "From our experience and knowledge of transport we are satisfied that our decision will not materially hamper or delay the Army program."

The decision not to cooperate with the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (CIO) in loading Army cargoes was unanimous, being approved by representatives of 152 member firms of the Water-front Employers and thirty-five members of the Pacific American Shipowners.

The statement did not add, as it might have, that at the beginning of the strike Mr. Bridges announced that the fight would not be over until one or the other group was destroyed;; which, if this notorious follower of the Communist Party line is serious, means that the employers are fighting for survival.

Before condemning the employers, whose stupidity in the past is admittedly largely responsible for Harry Bridges and others like him, for not cooperating with the union and the Army, ask yourself 1) whether you would cooperate with a union whose head has threatened publicly to destroy you, and 2) whether you would cooperate with a union which is part of a world-wide conspiracy against democracy and the slavish tool of a foreign Power?

However one might deal with the first question, there can be no doubt about the answer to the second. No loyal American would knowingly and willingly cooperate with enemies of his country. Yet, if the Communist Party is part of a world-wide conspiracy, if its primary allegiance is to Soviet Russia and not to the United States, if it acts among us as a fifth column, prepared to weaken us internally in the event of war by propaganda and sabotage, then hundreds of American employers have been placed in the anomalous position of cooperating with the enemies of their country. They are doing so in every case where, to purchase peace, they sign a contract with a communist-dominated union.

This is the important issue which the shipping interests of the Pacific Coast have decided to raise. They chose to raise it even before the Army, through Secretary Royall, asked them to cooperate with Harry Bridges in loading Army cargoes. On September 3, charging that the present strike was the culmination of fourteen years of disruption and chaos "caused directly by union leadership following the Communist Party line," the employer associations mentioned above adopted unanimously this policy statement:

That these associations and their members cease to bargain or contract with any labor organization, unless each of its officers files with the National Labor Relations Board, in pursuance of law, his affidavit stating that he is not a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with such Party, that he does not believe in and is not a member of or supports any organization that believes in or teaches the overthrow of the United States Government by force or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods.

To a union statement criticizing their refusal to cooperate in loading Army cargoes, the employers observed that it was "strange" to see Harry Bridges "concerned over the needs of the U.S. Army," and they continued:

When it suits his political objective, he condemns the Marshall Plan, the only hope for the decency of mankind. When under Federal injunction, he sabotaged Army, defense and Marshall Plan cargoes to politically discredit the new labor law. He stampeded our longshoremen into an allegedly secret vote condemning the Marshall Plan and supporting Henry Wallace, who has shamed our nation before the world to the benefit of the gangster rule in Russia.

We say that this 100-per-cent political move by Bridges [the offer to move Army cargoes] has no origin in concern for troops overseas, the public good, or the interests of longshoremen. Typical of the amazing agility of his kind to switch the party line to suit the moment, he is again a patriot, as he was when we were allied with Russia.

In the minds of the employers, therefore, as these statements reveal, the Communist Party of the United States is disloyal to the country; and since the party controls the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and also the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, they will have no further contractual relationship with it until the party's grip has been broken.

Plainly, this issue has a significance that extends far beyond the Pacific Coast maritime industry. It raises the whole question of the nature of the Communist Party and

its position in our society and under our laws. Up till now we have avoided a clear-cut answer to the question. We have temporized with it, dodged it, dealt with it obliquely. We have penalized communist-dominated unions by refusing them the facilities of the National Labor Relations Board; we have fired people from Federal



employment for membership in the Communist Party, or even for membership in communist fronts; the Army and Navy do not permit the employment of Communists on secret projects; yet the same Communists who are thus discriminated against can belong to legal political parties, can vote, and can even hold office.

The Communist Party is either a radical faction on the fringe of the American leftist movement, or it is a fifth column directed from abroad, and it makes an enormous difference which it is. The stand taken by the Pacific Coast employers, if persisted in, will force us to make up our minds.

Oddly enough, on the very day the employers turned the Army down, a gentleman by the name of Serge Ivanovich Tulpanov let a cat out of the bag in Berlin. Tulpanov is a colonel in the Red Army, chief of Soviet propaganda in Germany and altogether one of the most important Russian figures on the German scene. In an inflammatory speech before a thousand delegates to the Congress of Victims of Fascism, held in Berlin, Tulpanov openly boasted that in the cold war between Russia and the western democracies the Soviet Union had a fifth column at work. "We have friends behind the barriers of all frontiers," he said. Now what, one wonders, could the

Soviet fifth column behind the frontiers of the United States be except the Communist Party?

Another foreign Communist let an even bigger cat out of the bag several weeks ago in Sofia. In the course of a speech, reported by C. L. Sulzberger of the New York Times, Vylko Chervenkov, secretary of the central committee of the Bulgarian Workers Party (Communist), said:

For us Communists and for our Party it is an iron law and indisputable fact that *the Communist Parties of all lands*, as Comrade Dimitrov [former head of the Comintern] has said, *form a united international communist front under the leadership of the most powerful party*, a party tested and tried in the struggle against capitalism and in the construction of socialism, the party of Lenin-Stalin;

That all the Communist Parties have but a single theory as a guide to action, the Marxist-Leninist theory, and that *they have one common generally acknowledged leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin, the leader of the glorious Bolshevik party and of the great land of socialism* (Emphasis added).

This is plain enough. According to no less an authority than Georgi Dimitrov, boss of the Comintern and personally known to a number of American Communists, all Communist Parties are part of an international organization under the leadership of Comrade Stalin. Despite their denials, then, it would appear that the American Communist Party is either part of this international front and under the orders of Stalin, or it is a fraction guilty of Titoism or of some similar heinous deviation. Since Mr. Foster and the *Daily Worker* have joined European puppets of the Kremlin in condemning Marshal Tito, the conclusion would seem to be obvious—and damning. At

Americans are poor haters

Norbert Muhlen

The gift parcels—\$10 million worth of food, clothing and medical supplies every month—which American citizens have sent to Germany since 1946, form, according to a recent statement of government statisticians, “the most extensive spontaneous relief effort in history.”

Compared with the most extensive organized destructive effort in history, which caused the need for these parcels; compared with the expenditures of hate in the war and its aftermath, the figure of love may seem small. But perhaps it should be appraised in terms of the human values that went into it, rather than in dollars and dimes. Since, according to journalism's time-worn tradition, great crimes are more newsworthy than good works, the newspapers have not played up the story of “the greatest relief effort,” though it has highlights of a rather sensational character, such as the following, chosen at random in one two-week period of 1948.

1. A group of Boston veterans blinded in combat collected \$500 for food packages to be sent to blinded vet-

any rate, the Pacific Coast employers of maritime labor want to know for sure.

Believe me, it is most unpleasant to write in this way about the Pacific Coast strike. Like most literate citizens I am aware of the dismal past of the maritime industry, of the low wages, the rotten working conditions, the exploitation which unionism has largely remedied. I am aware, too, that nine-tenths or more of the sailors and stevedores on the Pacific Coast are not Communists. In the present controversy, however, in which the employers have acted fairly, one can sympathize with the dockworkers and yet condemn the position in which their communist leaders have placed them. And if the men have doubts about employer charges of communism, regarding them as a time-honored red-herring, let them ask themselves why it was that the CIO demoted Harry Bridges from his job as regional director for California and why that gentleman, in company with the small pro-communist minority on the CIO executive board, refuses to go along with CIO policy on ERP and Wallace, but prefers instead to follow the Communist Party line?

As the rank and file march the picket line on a strike that need not have occurred, they might meditate profitably on these lines:

God forbid that the day should come when the Communist Party should become a potent influence in America. And I am sure that the thousands—yes millions—of honest Americans affiliated together in the trade-union movement feel the same way about the matter.

That paragraph is taken from an address delivered before 30,000 people a few weeks ago at Hershey Park, Pa., by the president of the CIO, Philip Murray.

Norbert Muhlen, author of *Schacht, Hitler's Magician* (New York, 1939), editor of the newsletter “The Radio Audience” from 1943 to 1945, and contributor to numerous periodicals on public-opinion trends, received his doctorate in philosophy from the University of Munich.

erans of the German Army. The check of these Americans, “who might so easily have hated, might so easily still hate,” was presented by the Rev. Thomas J. Carroll, of the Catholic Guild of the Blind of Boston, to those war blind in Germany who “perhaps have hated, perhaps still harbor hate.”

2. Garry Davis, former U. S. Army bomber pilot in the European theatre during the war, now 26, set out for Germany as a reconstruction worker, compelled to do so because, as he said: “I am responsible for some of the damage there.” In Germany he might meet 24-year-old Henry Martyn Noel Jr., a Harvard man, who for the same reason works as a bricklayer in the ruins of Cassel.

3. An Englishman of the Jewish faith, prominent in British Labor circles as well as among English Zionists, and the leading “leftist” publisher of his country, Victor Gollancz, came to America to raise funds and sympathy for Germany, as he did at home for the last two years.

4. The collection of captured master paintings from

Berlin museums was shown to 960,000 persons in our Capital, to 120,000 in New York, and will be seen by many more in other American cities, for an admission fee "the entire proceeds of which will be turned over to the U. S. Army for relief of German children in the U. S. Zone in Germany."

Considering the unspeakable misery which rules in Germany, these acts and efforts would be less amazing if they had not happened almost immediately after a period in which the American people were supposed to hate the enemy people—and hate, according to the psychologists, is characterized by the fact that it outlasts the situation in which it was created. Has the mood of America changed so quickly from hate to help for the Germans?

Only three or four years ago, a shrewd, decided campaign was being conducted to make this country "hate the enemy"; and our politics toward Germany expressed hate in action. The Morgenthau Plan, "essentially a plan of blind vengeance," as Mr. Cordell Hull noted in his *Memoirs*, served as guiding principle for the eventual wrecking of the German economy, the dismantling of vital industries, the disgraceful fraternization ban. In the press and radio, the Germans were discussed with venom. Best-selling books of these days were pamphlets in which Mr. Louis Nizer advised us on "What to do with Germany," in which Mr. Emil Ludwig babbled about the Germans as an inferior race, and in which Dr. Bricker, a psychiatrist victimized by the disease which he had been trained to diagnose and cure, expounded the theory that all Germans were paranoiacs. The voices of hate outnumbered those of understanding by far. Can it be that people really change overnight from decency to irrational hate, and back again? Or could it, perhaps, be that the alleged popular hatred of the wartime years existed only in public appearance, silencing and overpowering the real public opinion?

Thanks to public-opinion research, that new and promising branch of social science, we can investigate whether the highlighted acts of 1945, or those of 1948, were the more indicative of popular opinions and attitudes in this country, or whether the people's mood can really be made to order, while you wait.

Since people themselves are poor judges of their own emotions, their opinions on the German people—pseudo-factual judgments reflecting their own emotions rather than their information—serve as a useful barometer for the extent of their "hate-the-enemy" feelings.

Before this country went into the war, 25 per cent of our population thought that "the German people will always want to go to war to make themselves as powerful as possible." This was in July, 1942; after the end of hostilities, in March, 1946, there were 31 per cent who thought so. In other words, almost four years of war, hate propaganda and actual insecurity brought about by Germany had changed the minds of only six Americans in a hundred toward marked hostility. The ratio was almost the same among those Americans who held the opposite view, thinking that "the German people do not like war; if they could have the same chance as people

in other countries, they would become good citizens of the world." Before our entry into the war, 31 per cent of the people held this view; after the war was won, 26 per cent still clung to it. Only one American in twenty had changed his favorable image of the enemy. And those who took the middle road, feeling that "the German people may not like war, but they have shown that they are too easily led into war by powerful leaders," stuck by their quietly rational attitude from the pre-war years to the postwar period: while in 1942 there had been 44 per cent thinking this way about the German people, there were 43 per cent in May, 1946—in short, only one per cent in this group succumbed to the hate propaganda.

But of those who ascribed to all the German people highly dangerous and reprehensible traits, only a part admitted real personal hate for the Germans. Asked in 1942 whether they, personally, hated the Germans, 82 per cent of the national cross-section answered with a clear-cut "No." Of the 18 per cent who answered with "Yes" it is difficult to know how many did so only because they thought it correct or necessary to hate, in accordance with the pattern set by their special ethnic, religious or social group. On the other hand, it may, of course, well be (although it is less likely) that some people were hiding their hate because they thought such a feeling not acceptable in their special group.

Long before the Morgenthau Plan of hate and vengeance against Germany was abandoned by our national policy-makers, the majority of Americans rejected it and favored a political attitude of friendly help for Germany. In the summer of 1944, when wartime danger and excitement were at a peak, the national cross-section was asked: "If you had your say, how would we treat the people who live in Germany, after this war?" Even at this critical moment, 65 per cent—or two out of three Americans—advocated lenient treatment, liberal attitudes, active assistance. On the other hand, a very small minority—eight per cent—formed what we may call the hate group, indicating in their replies that they recommended severe measures, punitive action, torture or even extermination for the German people. Less than one out of ten Americans revealed real hatred.

That in the most disturbed war years the majority of the American people remained faithful to humanitarian principles, even when they meant personal self-denial and sacrifices, rather than give in to the temptation to hate, was shown by the replies to a crucial survey conducted at the end of 1944, when victory did not seem to be around the corner. People were then asked: "If it means an earlier end of the war, would you approve or disapprove of using poison gas against the Germans?" 76 per cent of the people said that they would disapprove. Fewer than one out of four were willing to use it.

Later in the war, with shortages and rationing one of the major complaints of the people, there was a majority who stated that they were "willing to have some things rationed in this country for several years after the war, to help Germany get her peacetime industry going again." And this at a time when the experts in

the Treasury and some sections of the War Department were working overtime devising plans to destroy German industry forever.

The last survey in the field was conducted in Canada, where, in the beginning of 1948, people were asked what their feelings were toward the German people. At the height of the war, 27 per cent had expressed hate; now, 12 per cent showed by their answers that they still hated the German people. When it comes to a question of applying their feelings to actual policies, the overwhelming majority of the peoples accept the Germans into the new family of nations. Asked by the International Gallup Poll: "What countries do you think should be included in the United States of Europe?" seven out of ten Americans mentioned Germany.

* * *

Analysis of the wartime and postwar opinion studies in the U. S. shows that the people are always inclined to help rather than hate. The survey findings reveal, appearances to the contrary notwithstanding, that the majority of Americans remained immune to the hate bacilli with which their leaders and spokesmen tried to infect them. Only a minority ever admitted hate toward the German people. The hucksters of hate have never succeeded in "selling" the people.

This is an inspiring and gratifying lesson. Hate, degrading symptom of an emotional disease, the roots of which probably were planted in the nursery, cannot be imposed upon the people by its policy-makers and opinion-molders. George Creel's cynical credo—"Give me two weeks and the proper machinery, and I will change the so-called mind of the American people on any given subject" which was elaborated into a monstrous belief by Dr. Paul Joseph Goebbels, is fortunately a fallacy.

Polls conducted during the war in China indicated that only a minority hated the Japanese; polls conducted after the war in the Netherlands and Norway showed that only a minority hated the Germans; in both cases, invasion and occupation had created stimuli for hate which were unknown to Americans. It is likely that, had independent free opinion surveys been conducted in wartime Germany, Japan or Russia (which is impossible in itself since people cannot express their true opinions under a dictatorship) the results would not have been very different. Our finding that the majority is averse to hating another nation probably applies more to people as such, everywhere, than merely to the American people, although the American cultural pattern and tradition may have erected a stronger protective wall against national group hatred than those of some other nations.

On the other hand, there is a specifically American dark spot on the finding that the American majority refused to "hate the enemy." The survey revealed that, for a minority at least, there existed somewhat less resistance to hate on a basis of race or color than to hate on the basis of nationality. More people in this country approved of the use of poison gas against the Japanese than against the Germans; the plotting of war was much oftener attributed to the Japanese (whose history and leaders are not well known here) than to the Germans;

and even in 1948, as a poll showed, many people still regarded Americans of Japanese descent as disloyal and dangerous, although throughout the war years not one single case of Japanese-American espionage had borne out their hateful suspicions.

A breakdown of those who admitted their hate for the German people showed that they were often identical with people who tended most toward hating racial groups among their own people. While 33 per cent of the people in the South hated the German people "personally," only 14 per cent did so in the rest of the country. Hate seems to be an emotional disturbance in search of objects to be hated. Since the end of the war, the emotional preparedness for group hatred has found new objects superseding the wartime Germans. Some Zionist attacks against "the British," some denunciations of "the Russian people" rather than of the Soviet system, show that arguments used in the anti-German hate campaign could readily be adapted to use against any other national or racial group. But the great planned hate campaigns of a minority are answered by "the most extensive spontaneous relief effort," the sum of good intentions and good works of the majority.

A talk with a giant— Karl Barth

J. L. Witte, S.J.

At one of the plenary sessions of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam, I was listening to a delegate addressing the convention, when suddenly a deep, manly voice in the press box behind me muttered: "*Das ist ja ganz und gar Unsinn!*" ("That is absolute and complete nonsense"). Looking back, I saw Karl Barth, told him that I agreed with his opinion, and two minutes later we walked out of the hall to have a discussion of our own.

Karl Barth must be in his sixties, but he looks strong and healthy and full of life. His profile shows typical German traits: massive and energetic head, the inseparable pipe accentuating the Germanic impression. Even his mind shows it, by its straight logic which reasons from a few principles and continually stresses every detail. I must admit, though, that he is very modest and cordial and of an amazing honesty.

Our discussion began with Barth's views on sin. Not bad. For his belief in radical and total corruption through sin is fundamental for his system. According to Barth, sin is a complete mystery, not only as to what it is but also as to the very fact that it exists. He rejects the idea that evil is a culpable defection from the good, due to the choice made by man's free will. No, says Barth, all we can say is that evil exists. Adam had no choice; at least none that we know about. What Catholics hold is only a philosophical conclusion, not a biblical datum. We know only that Adam was free to do God's will. But suddenly the "mystery of iniquity" slipped into God's

creation in the form of a snake (from ancient times the snake has been seen as the incarnation of evil). Here Barth made a twisting gesture to underline his idea. Whence it came and what it is, we do not know. In any case it entered, without any doubt, against the will of God, without even being tolerated by Him. It is there, according to Barth, and that is all we can say.

Even so, Barth says a lot more.

As a theologian of the Reformed line, Barth reasons that sin is so destructive that God can no longer find a point of contact in sinful man. That is why there can be no such thing as inner justification in the Catholic sense. And this, above all, is the reason why man can never cooperate in the work of the Redemption. Here lies Barth's greatest objection to the Catholic Church—the doctrine of the cooperation of man—of Mary, above all—in the work of the Redemption. Mary, Co-redemptrix—that is an abomination to him. It is not Jesus and Mary, but Jesus alone!

Evidently Barth had a totally wrong idea about our cooperation in Christ's redemptive task. I tried to explain how we, too, hold that Christ and Christ alone redeemed mankind, inasmuch as only His divine power could cause such an effect. But, even so, Christ simultaneously works in us and through us. Take the act of believing: it comes totally from God, and yet at the same time it is fully man's act. Both Barth and we can say: "Christ believes in me." But the "I believe" is too much for Barth.

To my exposition of all this Professor Barth listened very attentively.

"I understand what you want to say," he said. "The reasoning is just about perfect, but you forget one thing: '*quantum ponderis est peccatum*'" (the vast burden of sin.)

On the contrary, I urged, did not Barth forget the immensity of God's mercy? Did he not hold the impotence of God radically to vanquish sin and bring about a new birth in sinful man?

At this point we had reached opposite poles. The step from there on to Barth's position within the World Council of Churches was easy.

"From your viewpoint," I said, "I readily understand how you must look on the Catholic Church as your personal enemy. Yet something in your opening discourse has hurt me, and many non-Catholics with me. It was the passage in which you mentioned 'alleged Christianity' (*angeblich Christentum*) and 'precisely Rome and Moscow' (*ausgerechnet Rom und Moskau*) who refuse any contact with the World Council. You must have suspected that we would immediately link Moscow with communism and not think only of the Orthodox Church."

"Indeed, I did," Barth said very frankly. "For I see a link there. I always felt Catholicism to be in agreement with communism. Both are totalitarian, both claim the whole man. Both reason from a closed circle. Communism uses about the same methods of organization; it learned them from the Jesuits. Both alike stress the visible. But for Protestantism the more dangerous of the two is Catholicism. Communism will pass; Catholicism will remain."

Barth showed little comprehension of the unity between the visible and the invisible in the Catholic Church, which, after all, is to be found clearly in the New Testament. His spiritualistic conception of the Church is an obstacle which prevents him from transcending the idea of a church as no more than the place where two or more give actual testimony to Christ. The scriptural texts that do not fit into this conception are shoved aside.

"But," I insisted, "if that is your idea about the Catholic Church, do you mean that the World Council of Churches should develop into an anti-Catholic bloc?"

A smile came on his face. Then he said literally: "*Leider ist es das nicht*" ("I regret that it isn't").

To anyone who noticed the dominant place of Karl Barth at the convention and who knows the tremendous influence which his followers had on the Council, these words are significant. I objected that the Anglicans and the Greek Orthodox were much milder in their opinion.

"Come, come," he said, "I know the Catholic Church better than those sentimental Americans and that mystical Florovsky (George Florovsky was the intellectual leader of the Greek Orthodox group). I know that the Catholic Church is not content with a place next to the others. If I were Pope, I should demand the same recognition which the Catholic Church now demands."

Though Barth admitted that he had still a lot to learn about the Catholic faith, he has no doubt at all about his knowledge of the Catholic Church. This is perhaps the point which we must most regret. For he certainly does not possess the insight into the plenitude of Catholicism which the Anglicans and the Greek Orthodox have, even though they may not be as "logical." This is no denial of Barth's greatness. He is an original and consistent thinker. His religious conviction is very firm, and he is a fascinating speaker. That his followers admire his prophetic talents is quite understandable. Yet he remains caught in the closed circle of Reformed theology and of his own system, neither of which is covered by the infallible guarantee of Christ.

In this interview with Barth may be seen the whole tragedy of the World Council of Churches. If it is to be really ecumenic, why give such a dominant position to the person who openly regrets that the Council is not a bloc against the other half of Christendom? Should such a mentality not rather be excluded?

If the Council continues in Barth's direction, the question will come whether cooperation with several other groups can be permanent. Already at Amsterdam the Greek Orthodox as well as the Anglicans, and even the Lutherans, have felt him as a menace.

For very many idealistic members of the Council, who sincerely long for the unity of all Christians, such a split would mean a terrible blow. For us Catholics it is no simple question to decide, with an eye to the unity wanted by Christ, what we must desire of this movement and what we must fear.

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Literature & Art

T. E. Hulme and Catholic letters today

Michael F. Moloney

In 1924 T. E. Hulme's *Speculations* was published in London. Seven years earlier the author, a member of the Royal Marine Artillery, had been killed near Nieuwpoort. At the time of his death Hulme was thirty-four.

The *Speculations* is a remarkable book by a remarkable man. Actually it is not a book in the ordinary sense at all, but a collection of heterogeneous pieces culled by his editor, Mr. Herbert Read, from Hulme's notebooks and lecture notes. The effect is fragmentary in the extreme, but the caliber of the mind there so imperfectly revealed is never in doubt.

Young as he was at time of his death, and disjointed as his career had been, Hulme had already made a profound impression upon his generation. His poetical "works," consisting of five short poems, had appeared in 1915 as an addendum to Ezra Pound's *Ripostes*, but despite the slightness of his production he was one of the acknowledged leaders of the Imagist movement. However, his primary concern was with philosophy; and he was known, to quote the *Criterion*, as "a brilliant amateur of metaphysics." He had studied under Bergson, who testified to his *rare qualités de finesse, de vigueur et de pénétration*, and he had translated Bergson's *Introduction to Metaphysics*.

Whether—granted the necessary years and opportunity—Hulme would have attained stature as a philosophic thinker is a matter concerning which conjecture would be fruitless. There would seem to be no doubt, however, that had he been given normal length of days he would have contributed brilliantly to the all too restricted body of esthetic and critical theory in English. He possessed the incisive vision; he marshaled the magic phrase without which significant criticism cannot be written. If there are hints of youthful impatience in his pronouncements, there is likewise a sincerity which precludes self-dramatization. He was not absorbed, in the fragments of his work which we possess, by the mere technicalities of critical procedure; and it is clearly evident that for his searching mind such absorption would have seemed sterile. For him criticism was an avenue of approach to life, an opportunity to probe the significance of life. He was young; he was troubled; he was an artist. It was, therefore, inevitable that the incandescence of his spirit should have illumined even his casual critical comments.

Like many English intellectuals coming to maturity in the first decade and a half of the twentieth century, Hulme

had rejected the nineteenth century's "universal application of the principle of continuity." The relativism which denied essential differences between the inorganic and the organic, between the non-human and the human, was to him untenable. "Our principal concern then at the present moment," he wrote, "should be the re-establishment of the temper or disposition of mind which can look at a gap or chasm without shuddering." Dividing reality into 1) the "inorganic world of mathematical and physical science, 2) the organic world dealt with by biology, psychology and history and 3) the world of ethical and religious values," he insisted that there must be "an absolute division" between each of these three regions. The middle period of the nineteenth century had entirely ignored the division between the outer zone of the world of physics and the inner world of religion and ethics. It had tended to treat them as one, subject to the same mechanical laws. Then came the movement "represented in very different ways by Nietzsche, Dilthey and Bergson, which clearly recognized the chasm between the two worlds of life and matter," but which proceeded to ignore the second chasm, "that between biology and the ethical, religious values." Here arose what was for Hulme the characteristic modern heresy.

Biology is not theology, not can God be defined in terms of "life" or "progress." Modernism entirely misunderstands the nature of religion. But the last twenty years have produced masses of writing on this basis, and in so far as thought today is not materialistic, it tends to be exclusively of this kind.

In his analysis of the new Vitalism, Hulme is trenchantly effective. This movement can understand the absolute division between the inorganic and organic worlds because such a distinction "falls easily into line with humanism." It cannot, however, admit the gulf between the organic universe and the realm of spirit, because such an admission "breaks the whole Renaissance tradition." Here Hulme brings sharply into focus the ideological limitations of the humanistic movement. Himself reared under its shadow, he rejects it because it confuses realms which should be kept separate and by so doing falsifies "the true nature both of the human and divine." But humanism, in itself a negative thing, has, surprisingly, been the source of such unity as the post-Renaissance world has known:

... it is possible to show, I think, that all thought since the Renaissance, in spite of its apparent variety, in reality forms one coherent whole. It all rests on the same presuppositions which were denied by the previous period. It all rests on the same conception of the nature of man, all exhibits the same complete inability to realize the meaning of the dogma of Original Sin.

The manner in which these ideas of Hulme's, these protests against contemporary obscurantism, these hunger-

ings for absolute values impinge upon his critical thought is not far to seek. Particularly noteworthy is his succinct and devastating analysis of the Romantic Fallacy. Romanticism in literature, Relativism in ethics, Idealism in philosophy and Modernism in religion spring alike from the inability of the prevailing ideology to understand the nature of the absolute. . . . Romanticism, for example, confuses both human and divine things, by not clearly separating them. The main thing with which it can be reproached is that it blurs the clear outlines of human relations—whether in political thought or in the literary treatment of sex—by introducing in them the Perfection that properly belongs to the non-human!

And a little farther on:

As we are painfully aware that nothing actual can be perfect, we imagine the perfection to be not where we are, but some distance along one of the roads. This is the essence of Romanticism. . . . The fundamental error is that of placing Perfection in humanity, thus giving rise to that bastard thing Personality, and all the bunkum that follows from it.

Even more challenging to the Catholic thinker is this comment upon Renaissance painting:

At the Renaissance, there were many pictures with religious subjects, but no religious art in the proper sense of the word. All the emotions expressed are perfectly human ones. Those who choose to think that religious emotion is only the highest form of the emotions that fall inside the humanist ideology, may call this religious art, but they will be wrong. When the intensity of the religious attitude finds proper expression in art, then you get a very different result. Such expression springs not from a delight in life but from a feeling for certain absolute values, which are entirely independent of vital things.

These forthright pronouncements are startling in their immediacy—in the clarity with which they set forth truths defended in the modern world by the Church alone. They remind the Catholic reader, with humiliating forcefulness, that it is, alas, too often the stranger who best speaks his Mother's tongue. It may not be going too far to say that Hulme has here set forth a charter for Catholic literature of today.

For a Catholic literature in its fulness—in the sense that the *Divine Comedy* and the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Morte d'Arthur* constitute a Catholic literature—is impossible in the English-speaking world of our time. Indeed, a Catholic literature such as that represented in modern France by the works of Claudel and Bloy and Bernanos and Mauriac is likewise impossible in English. It is impossible because the conditions requisite for the creation of a Catholic literature in English do not exist.

Strictly speaking, a literature is not created. It grows quite naturally out of the culture of the epoch which produces it. When its source is an age of pagan faith, it will eventuate in the lofty and inspiring art of Aeschylus. When that doctrinal paganism has been unsettled, it will produce, no matter what the personal attitude of the author, the troubled dramas of Euripides. When it springs from a primitive Catholic age it will flower in a Beowulf—a work in which the beliefs of the author and of his time are evident but in which the shadows of a still proximate pagan era waver and flicker.

In the heart of the Middle Ages it will, when its agent is a Dante, gather up into one vast synthesis the intellectual and spiritual convictions of the epoch—but it will not stop there. Upon this sweeping harmony it will impress the overtones, the secondary nuances, which will assure human individuality. The majestic pronouncement of the theologian, the lucid utterance of the philosopher, will predominate, but Bernard and Beatrice will not be the sole actors in the great drama; Paolo and Francesca and Ciacco and Bertrand de Born and Adamo of Brescia, together with Casella and Omberto and Forese and Cunizza will, each in his own way, affirmatively or negatively, re-echo the central identifying motifs of the master work.

In that breaking of the nations called the Renaissance, it will in a Shakespeare no longer be impressed so much by the meaning of life as by its incalculable mystery. The faith which in the *Divine Comedy* is finally translated into ecstatic vision is never achieved in Shakespeare. He lived when the Middle Ages were dissolving and, if the spiritual anchorage of the past was not yet uprooted, the storm signals were flying and the hurricane was visible on the horizon. Yet Shakespeare was comparatively fortunate. The authenticity of the medieval synthesis had been challenged, and medieval society was disintegrating; but the principles upon which medieval life had been predicated were still inwardly and instinctively accepted even by those who outwardly and formally rejected them. That is why there is still a semblance of unity in the world of tragedy and comedy which Shakespeare creates—a unity which is not actual, but which Shakespeare himself can still accept, perhaps without logic, but certainly without stultification.



Much history, nevertheless, has been written since the sixteenth century, and the Catholic writer in the English-speaking world of today is confronted by the cruelest of fates. He cannot become the voice of the secularized age in which he lives, because that age rejects both the faith and the philosophy which are his birthright. Nor can he (I insist upon the point no matter how controversial it may seem) with artistic integrity become a voice merely of contemporary Catholicism. The reason is not that he would then be condemned to speak for a minority group; for a minority group, however small, can, if it possesses cultural integrity, provide the necessary *milieu* for the creative artist. The success of the Irish renaissance in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is a case in point. But the bitter fact is that in the United States and England today there is no such thing as a Catholic culture.

The Catholic author, in common with his co-religionists, leads a divided life. The world of his faith finds little reflection in the world of affairs. That is not to say there is not abundant heroism, nay sanctity, both within the Church and without, in modern Babylon. It is only to say what needs no saying—that the prevailing tone

and temper of our world is extremely remote from one in which a Catholic artist can be expected to work successfully. For the artist, as artist, chameleon-like, reflects the coloring of his environment.

Is there no escape for the Catholic man of letters from the dilemma thus stated? Must he sacrifice either his art or his faith? Pessimism is tempted to reply, in the manner of Matthew Arnold's advice to his age, that first things come first. It might appear the part of wisdom to expend whatever energies we possess in working toward the creation of a Catholic culture and, having thus modestly redeemed the time, entrust to a more fortunate generation the task at which contemporary hands fail. But perhaps it may be possible to strive for both ends simultaneously; perhaps literature itself may become an important instrument in the molding of an historic atmosphere, which, if not strictly Catholic, will at least allow the Catholic thinker to breathe freely.

For at least a third of a century, it has been evident to discerning men that the end of an epoch in human history has been reached. Had this conviction been voiced by a Catholic spokesman alone, even Catholics might have been pardoned for thinking that the wish was father to that thought. Significantly, however, at approximately the same time, Hulme (whose connection with any formal religion must have been extremely tenuous), Nicolai Berdyaev, a member of the Russian Orthodox communion, and Jacques Maritain, the Roman Catholic, declared in measured terms that the era which had begun with the Renaissance had run its course. What the acuteness of the philosophic mind alone could first perceive has now, thanks to the impact of nuclear physics, become almost universally evident. And if one era has ended, it follows that another is being born.

In the new age what will replace the dogmas inherited from the Renaissance—the faith in the “humanities,” in “progress,” in “that bastard thing Personality?” Today it is not fantastic to hold that the pause given to all but the most blatant of our intelligentsia by the dread vision of atomic destruction, coupled with the misty survival in the minds of the generality of men and women of what may be identified as a religious “feeling” (it could, perhaps, scarcely be called a religious conviction), has paved the way for the acceptance of man's fallen nature, “the dogma of Original Sin.” For modern man is being forced by the sheer logic of events to abandon the Renaissance-born belief in a homocentric universe. The appalling destruction, human and material, of the second World War, together with the débâcle of the ensuing years, has done more than create a temporary disillusionment. It has destroyed the myth of the self-sufficiency of human nature.

If, then, man can no longer hope to find perfection in himself, if the belief in progress has issued in an obscene delusion; if the search for perfection in sex has brought, in a deepening crescendo from Shelley to Caldwell, the perversion of sexual values; if the credo of political perfectionism leads from the nineteenth-century liberalism of Bentham and J. S. Mill to the twentieth-century horror of the Third Reich and the Politburo, he must look to

new sources for his spiritual nurture. And if the worship of personality has led, when the wheel has come full circle, to the complete denial of personality—on the one hand, in the “scientific” concept of human destiny, and, on the other, in the stern reality of the police state—then modern man will surely turn to a more valid explanation of his destiny, and to a more integral interpretation of personality.

All of this is not to suggest that the way of the Catholic man of letters is to become easy or to predict that a significant Catholic literature is about to emerge. It is more likely that a significant outpouring of Catholic letters in English is in the remote future. But there can be little doubt that more and more people who have not the slightest connection with Catholicism are coming to share Hulme's “repugnance toward the *Weltanschauung* . . . of all philosophy since the Renaissance.” Toward this growing multitude the Catholic author will be wise to direct himself. To cast Dante's great line

e la sua volontade è nostra pace

would be beyond the strength of even Dante in our time, because that line came not from the heart of Dante alone but from the central conviction of the thirteenth century. Neither we, nor our age, have the same intimate awareness of that great truth. But we are approaching a different kind of intimacy with God which Hulme himself admirably expressed in one of his brief lyrics:

Oh, God, make small
The old star-eaten blanket of the sky
That I may fold it round me and in comfort lie.

The context from which these lines are taken may seem slightly irreverent. The spirit is not the spirit of him who had been in hell. But it is akin to the spirit of St. Francis—or, better, to that of Our Lady's *jongleur*. And who knows how many hearts are waiting to be set aflame by the inky *jongleurs* of novel and sonnet.

The sent ones

Listen and hear the sound of the pounding wind:
God's angels will be like wind, not winged like birds,
nor like, in streams, birds webbed or fishes finned,
nor will they be caught or kept in cumbrous words.

Angels, invisible lightnings, quick as thought,
unhampered by the symbol of a sound,
unseeable, untouchable, will not
be fixed in time or place or in any space bound.

They are purer than air or water—subtler, rarer,
servants that wait on Him like a flame of fire,
by His will apt for service, each a bearer
of light to those predestined to desire
the Light, by His will sent in time of need.

That time is now. O powers and virtues, heed!

SISTER MARIS STELLA

THE DIARY OF A COUNTRY PRIEST

By Georges Bernanos

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Books

Era of disenchantment

STALIN AND GERMAN COMMUNISM: A Study in the Origins of the State Party

By Ruth Fischer. With a Preface by Sidney B. Fay. Harvard University. 663p. \$8

This book implements the many histories of the Russian October Revolution and its metamorphoses, thermidors and phases—in particular, its repercussions on German development. Three main topics are closely interwoven: the story of the confused German Communist Party from 1918 to 1929; the internal struggle for power in Russia during Lenin's last years and immediately thereafter until Trotsky's elimination; finally, the interrelations between German communist policy and the internal conflicts in Moscow's Politburo and the Moscow Comintern; or, as Professor Fay remarks in the Preface, the story of Russian efforts to manipulate German communist policy in the interests of Russia. It was this policy which finally caused the break between Mrs. Fischer and both Russian and German pro-Soviet communism.

What is here presented is the confession of a "Western idealist" who, reared in the nineteenth-century socialist tradition, envisioned the salvation of man by communism, but found herself shocked by communism's concrete expression. The tradition was broken, she says, between the time of Lenin and the time of Stalin, the totalitarian terrorism of the latter making of communism a truly Russian reality, from which were obliterated all traces of the best heritage of Western thought, values and ideals.

The breakdown of the German revolution in 1923 placed the October revolution back on the basis of an isolated socialism—socialism in one country. Once isolated, the Revolution could not realize its original trends and aspirations. The men in power in Russia therefore adjusted the Soviet regime to "the paradox that a party of revolutionary internationalism ruled over a country unfit for the realization by itself of a socialist party."

With the expiration of this period (up to 1923) totalitarian dictatorships arose: Stalin in Russia, Mussolini in Italy, Hitler in Germany. The one-party state, with its disciplined hierarchy, its Cheka, its suppression of freedom and democracy, had eradicated from itself and from society "all vestiges of a democratic or socialist past." The elimination of Trotsky, "the outsider in the

internal dictatorship of the Old Guard within the bolshevik party," paved the way for socialism in one country, for "Russian National Socialism, which, though it was born through a labor of dogmatic and sterile discussion, was a bold and far-reaching re-assertion of Russian nationalism, the extension of every aspiration of imperial Russia."

Socialism in one country actually meant a power monopoly of one group ruling a tremendous segment of the globe. Therewith the adoration of the Leader began, the adoration of the Party and its symbols. The Cheka, originally founded (after the Czarist pattern) to keep the enemies of the working people down, quickly turned into an instrument of the power monopoly, a master within the party. German National Socialism, in spite of many conditioning German features, copied a ready-made pattern developed by Stalin.

Terror, from being a weapon in the class war, had become the motive force of a new type of economics, both in Russia and in Germany. Without Stalinism—we are given to understand—there would have been no German National Socialism, Hitler's professed anti-bolshevism to the contrary notwithstanding. It appears that the historical mission of Hitler was to break down the conservative and restorative forces of Germany—finally to deliver the German nation into the Russian sphere of influence.

The book is well documented, very detailed in its presentation of many inside aspects of the convulsions and evolutions of the period mainly under observation. Mrs. Fischer is a good deal more than a disinterested observer; in many phases of these events she was a passionate partner and an interested witness. Her story is the story of a shattered dream world of revolutionary international socialism, nineteenth-century fashion. It went up in smoke and blood, in power drunkenness and cruelty, in cynical disregard for the inviolable rights of man.

Was it so impossible to predict exactly this end of the dream of the City of Man? We recall a Spanish statesman and philosopher, Donoso Cortes, who in 1849 foretold the future in no uncertain terms: the days of freedom are rapidly running out; despotisms will arise in our Godless societies such as history never before has witnessed. Cortes was in line with an unbroken tradition obscured only since the rise of the Enlightenment philosophy—its aftermath, nineteenth-century liberalism; and its offshoot, nineteenth-century socialism. The twentieth century is the era of disillusion and, as Max Weber once remarked, of "Disenchantment." This book is one of the many expressions of it.

G. A. BRIKES

"With a fine pencil"

JEFFERSON THE VIRGINIAN

By Dumas Malone. Little, Brown. 484p. \$6

A memorial in Washington, a dinner each year on his birthday, an edition of his writings projected on a magnificent scale—two hundred years after his birth the nation still raises monuments to Thomas Jefferson. Not the least important, and certainly not the least difficult in execution, is the one proposed by Professor Malone, a four-volume *Jefferson and His Time*, of which *Jefferson the Virginian* is the first installment.

Not the least difficult, for Jefferson must be of all American figures one of the most aggravating and arduous for the biographer, as he is one of the most fascinating. The man must be found behind the legend, a legend only less pervasive and beclouding than those which surround Washington and Lincoln. But that is not all. This is a man who for length of life and variety of interests is matched, in our pantheon, only by Franklin. Political philosopher and party leader, legislator and Chief Executive, no mean contributor in architecture and in agriculture, inventor and educational planner, master of English prose—the list of his accomplishments could be prolonged indefinitely. Beyond and behind all this was a mind and personality brilliant and attractive, but complex and changing to the point of contradiction, and reserved and subtle to the point of secrecy, and—for the student—exasperation.

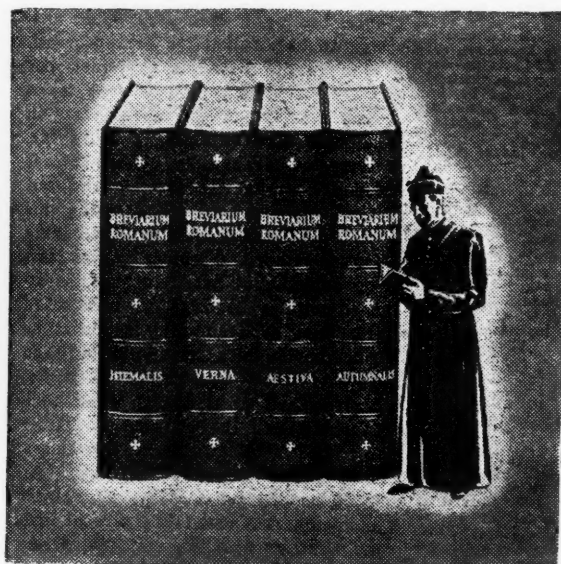
If all these challenges are not met directly in this first volume, there is ample evidence of Professor Malone's awareness of them, and high promise in his method. The work will be, in the classic phrase he quotes from Henry Adams, "touch by touch, with a fine pencil." There are few broad splashes of color, and few easy simplifications. The scholarship is meticulous, the style deceptively easy, the tone sympathetic but restrained.

This first volume carries Jefferson to the eve of his mission to France, in 1784. The scene is centered in Jefferson's "country"—Virginia. As is proper in dealing with a Virginian, there is a good deal of genealogy, including a due, but rather unusual, respect and attention for Peter Jefferson, the planter-surveyor father. As is proper, too, though it is a dull matter for all but the experts, there is a good deal of information about land—the locations, inheritances, transfers of the various plantations.

There is, more important, a smooth-running account of colonial and revolutionary politics, and of the society in

which the young Jefferson grew up. Malone places his hero in the Virginia gentry, from which he sprang and which he never left, with all its faults, and with the deep sense of responsibility and the early opportunity for leadership characteristic of the class. Perhaps it is the experience with mass-production biography as editor of the *Dictionary of American Biography* that leads to a stress on qualities truly important, but often unnoticed: the good health that helps account not only for Jefferson's longevity, but for the scope of his work and career, the hard work and the extreme care with which he attended to business, whether as a planter, lawyer or political leader.

Detailed criticism may be left to the professional Jeffersonians—of the not altogether successful attempt to palliate the record of Jefferson as war governor, for example. What the modern American reader will most regret is that the study of his ideas—after all, the greatest reason for our concern—is not fuller and more sharply analytical. One can only hope that later volumes will supply the need. On the basis of the first volume at least, we are promised, not the definitive biography, which is too much to ask, but a much closer approach than we have thus far seen, one probably as close as in this generation we have a right to expect. **GEORGE J. FLEMING JR.**



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Heroine Moses

A CLOUDED STAR

By Anne Parrish. Harper. 242p. \$2.75

The biographical facts about Harriet Tubman are inspiring evidences of her courage and heroism in leading groups of Negroes to freedom through the Underground Railway. In the gifted hands of Anne Parrish, the facts are transformed into a novel of power and beauty.

The name of Harriet Tubman was never mentioned by the slaves; she was their Moses and they whispered fearfully of the night when they would follow the North Star under her guidance, the night when they would answer to the call of a whippoorwill. Nine-year-old Sam Mingo joined her one night—Sam who had been taken from his parents and turned over in payment of a gambling debt to Mr. Harry of Tranquility. When Moses found Sam he was feverish and terrified, his feet torn and bleeding, his mind confused and his heart breaking for the father and mother he was leaving behind. But Sam had been threatened with a beating; he had heard Ole Miss at Tranquility say that he must be taught a lesson, he had seen boys in the quarters with bodies scarred and arms broken from such teaching, and he had seen his father carried into their cabin, an inert mass, broken and tortured.

So he had run away to find Moses and, after she had taken care of him, he went on with the group, traveling by night, hiding and resting in the daylight, often hungry, always weary, frightened, knowing too well that a reward of \$86,000 was offered for the capture, dead or alive, of Moses and her band of nine runaways—and \$80,000 of the reward was for Moses herself. It took all the resources of the leader to keep them in hand; strength and kindness, laughter and shrewdness, prayer, singing, and sometimes the muzzle of a rifle were called upon in the effort to spur them on in the face of misery and despair. The journey was long and the travelers human, and the monotony of their days was varied by their loves and jealousies, by sudden fears, by the mercy of those who befriended them; by the depth of their suffering they measured the full glory of joy as they reached the end of the Freedom Road.

As she tells about Sam in the days preceding his flight, Miss Parrish etches a clear delineation of the plantation life, its indolent charm and luxurious hospitality, all based on a foundation of cruelty and oppression. In the long cast of characters, each one a memorable figure, none is more

appealing than Miss Amanda, the little visitor from up North who was filled with a missionary spirit and zeal for good works that were exceeded only by her love of mischief. She played with Sam, she read the Bible to him, and she it was who gave him the courage to go away with Moses—to Africa, they thought.

It is in writing of Harriet Tubman, though, that Miss Parrish performs her greatest service, demonstrating how the interior life of a deeply spiritual woman can be portrayed with reverence and restraint. Moses is completely human; she knows depths as well as heights; she realizes that exterior conflict, however severe the hardships, is exhilarating in contrast to the deadening attrition of the inner struggle for self-surrender. Her informal prayers, with their strong biblical accents, are memorable jewels of faith, humility and love.

It seems incredible good fortune to come upon a book like this nowadays. With exquisite grace and economy, a tale of cruelty and bitter suffering is told in terms of courageous action, devout trust in God, and sublime love of neighbor.

MARY STACK MCNIFF

MAN AND THE STATE: Modern Political Ideas

Edited by William Ebenstein. Rinehart. 783p. \$5

This volume consists of one hundred and fourteen selections from about eighty authors, beginning with Machiavelli and ending with contemporaries. These are classified into eighteen chapters dealing with such major topics of political thought as the right to rebel, freedom, liberty and equality, the politics of pessimism, the cry for the leader, fascism, revolutionary Marxism, English socialism, planning, economic threats to freedom, nationalism, race, and the supranational community. The editor, Associate Professor of Politics at Princeton University and a very competent political writer himself, has composed helpful and sound introductions to each chapter and has supplied a thirty-page descriptive bibliography and an index.

A student could read very widely without ever reading Von Treitschke or Lord Acton or Thorstein Veblen or the works of Marx, Lenin, Trotsky and their fellows. The same goes for Madariaga and Ortega y Gasset. These and scores of other writers, equally important (Tawney, the Webbs, Lippmann and so on), are here put within easy reach under their proper headings. One can really study modern political ideas from this omnibus, and that is saying a very great deal.

ROBERT C. HARTNETT

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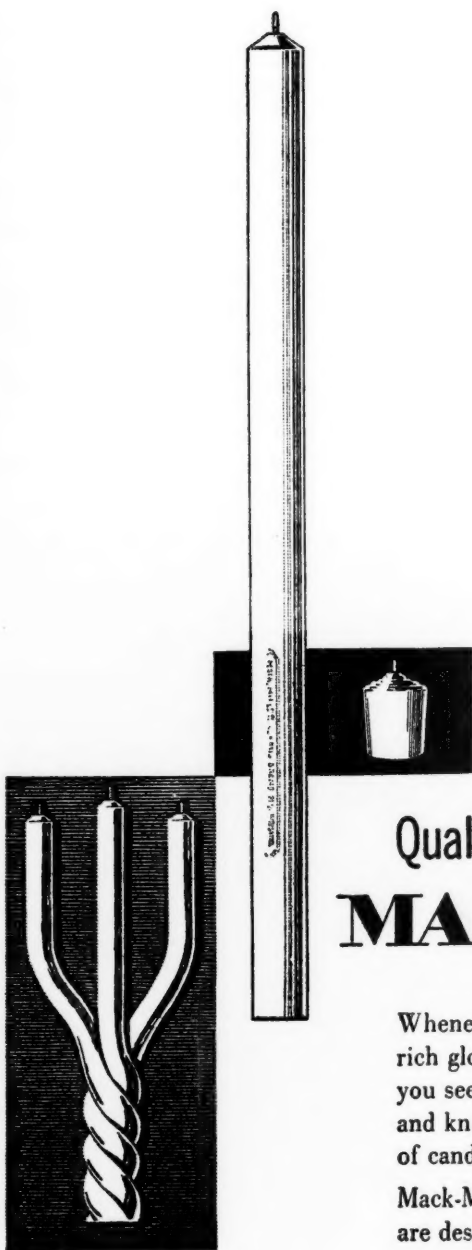
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The Word

"YOU'D THINK," I SAID, "THAT Our Lord had been reading today's newspapers, and was sitting here talking to us about it."

Betty and Joe looked at me, their eyes round and wondering.

I tapped the open Book. "It says here that the bad people killed God's servants who were trying to help them. That's happening right now."

Joe's fists closed. Betty's face saddened. "Where?" she asked. Joe said swiftly: "Why don't the soldiers shoot the bad people?"

"Wait," I told them. "This is the nineteenth Sunday after Pentecost. The gospel is from Matthew, chapter 22, verses 1-14. Jesus is telling a story."

They leaned their elbows on the dining-room table and propped their chins in their hands.

"It's about a King," I said. "That's God. He was having a wedding party for His Son. That's Christ."

Betty's eyes glowed. "Who's the bride?"

"The Church," I replied.

Joe licked his lips. "Did they have a wedding cake?"

"Yes. That stands for the sacraments, especially Holy Communion."

I paused until Betty asked: "What happened?"

"God," I told her, "sent messengers to invite guests. The messengers are the prophets and apostles, the priests and sisters. The invitation is their message to people about Our Lord and His Church. Trouble is, some people don't want to go to God's party."

"Don't want to go to a party?" Joe's

voice sounded as if he couldn't believe it.

"That's the way it is in Our Lord's story," I said. "One man said he couldn't leave his farm. Another said he was busy in his store. And others grabbed God's messengers and killed them."

Betty uttered a horrified "Oh!" I looked at Joe and said: "You asked why the soldiers don't shoot the bad people. Our Lord tells here how the King—that's God—sent an army to kill them and burn their city because they had murdered His servants."

Joe nodded. "They had it coming to them," he said; and his little lips closed firmly.

"But, Daddy—" Betty looked puzzled. "You said the same thing is going on now."

"It is," I told her. "Look at Germany. The Nazis killed priests and sisters, and armies came with bombs and smashed their cities. Now the Communists are murdering God's messengers, and if they don't stop . . ."

Betty looked sorrowful. "I hope they stop," she said.

"What else," asked Joe, "does Our Lord's story say?"

I glanced at the page to refresh my memory. "It says that God told His servants to go around everywhere and invite everybody to the party—good men and rascals."

"Rascals?" asked Betty.

"Yes. You see, if they come to the wedding, that means they come into the Church. Then they can go to confession. . . ."

"Oh," said Betty. "Then they would not be rascals any more?"

"Is that the end of the story?" asked Joe.

"No. It says they kept on inviting everybody until at last there was no more room. Then the King came in to meet the guests. That means Judgment Day, at the end of the world, when we'll all face Christ."

"I thought," said Betty slowly, "the King was God."

I looked at her, said "Well?" and waited. Joe squirmed in his chair and opened his mouth to say something, but I motioned him into silence.

Betty frowned, thinking. Then her face brightened suddenly. "Oh!" she cried. "That's right. Our Lord is God!"

I touched her cheek, lightly. "That's right. It's a mystery, but it's a fact."

"What happened when He came to see the guests?" she asked.

"There was a man there who didn't have on his wedding suit," I told her. "The King told the servants to tie him up and throw him out into the darkness."

"Why?"

"Because the wedding suit stands for love. People who don't love God and



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don't love other people can't go to
heaven. There's no room for hatred and
selfishness at a wedding."

"Dad," said Joe, "God sent armies
to kill the people who killed His serv-
ants. What about the men who wouldn't
leave their farms and stores?"

I rumbled his hair. "We've got to be
careful we're not like that," I said.
"We must make a living and have some
fun, but we musn't be working or play-
ing golf or going to the movies when
we're supposed to be in church. When
God's servant, the priest, invites us to
Mass and Communion, or to a novena or
a retreat, we ought to go. If we don't,
we'll wake up some day to discover
that somebody else has taken our place
in heaven. Look at the Negroes in
Africa, for instance."

"The brown people?" asked Joe. By
some instinct of delicacy, he always
calls them that.

"Yes," I said. "Lots of people in
Europe and America won't come to the
King's wedding feast. So God sends His
servants, the missionaries, all over the
world to invite others. Down in Africa,
so many are accepting that the White
Fathers have had to get special cibori-
ums which hold thousands of hosts.
Sometimes 25,000 people receive Com-
munion in one day in one church."

"Goodness!" exclaimed Betty.
"There'll be lots of brown people in
heaven, won't there?"

"All colors," I told her, closing the
Book.

JOSEPH A. BREIG

Theatre

SHOW BOAT. The season opened
rather early—immediately after Labor
Day—and also auspiciously with a re-
vival of *Show Boat*, presented by Rich-
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2nd, in New York City Center. *Sun-
down Beach*, a new play, opened the
same night in The Belasco. It seems to
be general practice, in the event of a
first-night tie or dead heat, to award
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of comment. Directed by Hassard Short, the revival is in most respects the peer of the Ziegfeld production, and in a few instances better. As one who raved over Helen Morgan's interpretation of Julie, I am now persuaded that Carol Bruce handles the role in a superior manner; while Pamela Caviness is the best Magnolia of my experience, not forgetting Norma Terrice, who created the part. Norwood Smith, Magnolia's sweetheart and husband, surpasses his predecessors in the role in voice and acting, and would be as magnificent in appearance as the original Ravenal in a brocaded waistcoat. William C. Smith is adequate in voice and performance as Joe, who sings *Old Man River*. The Dahomey Dance, by Helen Tamiris, is a guaranteed thrill. Howard Bay designed the satisfying sets.

One scene, when Ravenal visits Kim in the convent, has been cut, obviously to save time or reduce the payroll. In the original production and former revivals a sister called Kim from a procession of singing children to visit with her father. The procession and singing children have been elided from the City Center revival, and the elision is not an improvement. Otherwise, this *Show Boat* is as melodious, humorous, romantic and entertaining, and good to look at, as was Ziegfeld's first.

SUNDOWN BEACH, produced by Louis J. Singer, is an actor's dream of paradise. There are twenty-eight characters in the play, and only one of them a walk-on. Bessie Breuer wrote what is presented as a play; Ben Edwards designed the set and Jean Rosenthal had the final decision on the lights. Elia Kazan directed with the mystifying skill of a magician.

Acting laurels are too numerous for mention, since every member of the cast was given a chance and made the best of it. Some performances were outstanding, among them that of Edward Binns as a veteran with a frivolous wife; Jennifer Howard, a counter girl; Anne Hegira, a mature matron seeking divorce; Don Hanmer, a callow Casanova; Warren Stevens, Phyllis Thaxter, Julie Harris and John Sylvester in their several roles.

The scene is a cheap café that serves as an emotional clearing-house for veterans being treated in a nearby Air Force hospital. Disabled soldiers have it out with women in the café, their wives, girl friends and ladies on the make; and arrange seductions and deliver themselves of pent-up cuss words. But too many complications come to a head at once, resulting in an incoherent play that falls short of dramatic significance. In her next try the author may quite possibly do better.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

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LUS LEWIS

Films

FOR THE LOVE OF MARY. Deanna Durbin's latest vehicle reminded me for all the world of the early Shirley Temple movies, in which the curly-haired moppet would climb trustingly into the lap of Abraham Lincoln or the Viceroy of India or somebody equally important and charm that august and busy individual into channeling his official machinery to the task of granting her particular heart's desire. To be sure, Miss Durbin does no lap-sitting; but in her role of a White House switchboard operator, whom the President and the entire Supreme Court regard with the tenderest paternal solicitude, she produces much the same result. Her problem is a romantic dilemma into which, supposedly, the white-collar girls of America, several million strong, will happily project themselves. She must choose among three personable and well-heeled young suitors—an assistant district attorney (Jeffrey Lynn) who is favored by the Supreme Court; a naval officer (Edmund O'Brien) for whom the President is plugging; and an independently entered ichthyologist (Don Taylor), who happens on the scene in an effort to clear title to his Pacific atoll laboratory. Since the first two mentioned might have stepped out of Emily Post, while the fish-fancier has very bad manners, the least sophisticated habitué of the Hollywood-style romantic comedy should have no trouble picking the victor. The self-conscious "folksiness" of the Washington big-wigs is not limited to playing Cupid; they also furnish close harmony for some of the heroine's vocal excursions. As *family* entertainment this is sometimes quite sprightly and cute, and sometimes too cute to be entirely bearable. (*Universal-International*)

THE LUCK OF THE IRISH. A young writer (Tyrone Power), faced with a particularly extravagantly stated version of the great American dilemma—money or integrity—chooses the latter in a well-intentioned fantasy for the *family*, which never gets off the ground. Forwarding the cause of rectitude are a leprechaun (Cecil Kellaway), a pretty colleen (Anne Baxter) and the magical lure of the Irish countryside, while a fabulous job with a politically ambitious newspaper tycoon (Lee J. Cobb), a Manhattan penthouse and the blandishments of the publisher's worldly daughter (Jayne Meadows) are the materialistic snares. The transoceanic shifts of scene are indicated with sledgehammer subtlety by photographing New York in black and white, and County Kerry on a pea-green equivalent of sepia stock (which causes the

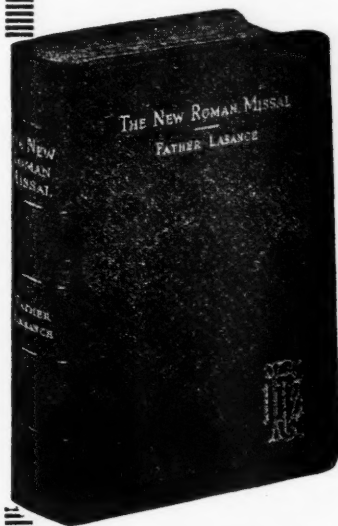
players to look as though they were still suffering from the effects of a rough crossing); and the transitions between fantasy and reality are managed with equal infelicity. In the midst of so many inappropriate superlatives the gentle humor of the "little man's" stratagems and some timeworn but sure-fire comic evocations of the Irish national character are all but stifled. (*20th Century-Fox*)

TEXAS, BROOKLYN AND HEAVEN (United Artists) and **EMBRACEABLE YOU** (Warner Brothers) are entirely dissimilar but about equally unpersuasive treatments of the "life can be beautiful" theme. The former, retails the cloyingly whimsical adventures of a boy (Guy Madison) and a girl (Diana Lynn), who meet enroute from the first place in the title to the second in search of the third, which to them is synonymous with escape from the regimentation of workaday life, and to be achieved by cultivating personal eccentricities and the friendship of screwballs. The latter is a tear-jerker about love and regeneration involving a cheap crook (Dane Clark), haunted by the specter of arrest, and a poor but not particularly honest dancer (Geraldine Brooks), afflicted by the overworked, soon-to-be-fatal malady. In quasi-happy endings both movie couples got what they wanted but discriminating adults will have to look elsewhere to achieve the same result. **MOIRA WALSH**

Parade

THE WEEK WITNESSED THE CONTINUING life of a strange modern paradox. . . . It saw man striving with one hand to improve the meteorological climate, and with the other struggling to worsen the social climate. . . . Into the meteorological climate man drops the dry ice that brings healthful rains to the parched earth, while into the social climate he pumps the poison known as divorce that brings death to family life. . . . There was, thus, increasing deterioration throughout the week in the man-made social climate, the climate in which family life must move and have its being. . . . In Connecticut, a town garbage-collector, a college graduate, fired three shots at his wife because she gave away two cabbages. Arrested, he maintained he fired over her head just to scare her. . . . A young Philadelphia wife blazed away at her husband, a night watchman, when he told her: "I would rather stay with mom than with you." . . . Efforts to achieve a less noisy type of family life were undertaken. . . . In England, a

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judge, disagreeing with the jury, ruled that a wife has no right to shoot her husband because he is worthless. Attempting to justify his attitude, the judge stated that the mortality rate among married people would be excessively high if offended husbands and wives were allowed to shoot one another. . . . Sly innuendoes infiltrated into the social climate. . . . A Brooklyn wife, seeking divorce, asserted her husband's poems to Rexie, the family pup, were intended as back-handed slaps at her. One of the verses to the pup read: "It's bad to miss a street car, it's tough to miss a bus; to miss a train—well, that's enough to make a preacher cuss: but missin' them is nothin' when you compare it to the awful way I feel now because I'm missin' you." . . . The poison of divorce seeped into the man-made climate. . . . Four years ago, in Detroit, three sisters married three brothers. Last week the three sisters divorced the three brothers. . . . In Milwaukee, a wife sought divorce, charging that her husband spent hours kissing and caressing his dog, but ignored her. The judge granted her the decree, gave custody of the dog to the husband. . . . In Camden, a wife testified that when she tried to keep bills down by using leftovers, her husband refused to eat them, threw them into the garbage can. Decreeing that refusal to eat leftovers constituted cruelty, the judge granted a divorce.

Puppies, full-grown dogs, leftovers, indeed, anything at all, can break up a home these days. . . . The record shows that when family life begins to decay, the nation is headed for history's scrap pile. . . . A sad feature of the present crisis is this: there is a remedy, but it is unpopular. . . . The American Bar Association and other groups, while proposing various futile solutions, will not accept the one solution that would cure the malady within a generation—to wit, substitution of a Christ-made social climate for the man-made affair we have now.

JOHN A. TOOMEY

MICHAEL F. MOLONEY, Professor of English at Marquette University, is author of *John Donne: His Flight from Medievalism*. GOETZ A. BRIEFS, is Professor of Economics at Georgetown University.

GEORGE J. FLEMING JR. is instructor in history at the University of Detroit.

Correction: The double review of *Farming and Democracy* and of *Pine, Potatoes and People* was wrongly attributed to Msgr. LUIGI G. LICUTTI. The REV. ANTHONY J. ADAMS, S.J., should have been credited. Our humble apologies.

Correspondence

Family limitation by continence

EDITOR: Father William J. Gibbons' remark about continence for the married in his review of *Road To Survival* (AM. 9/4) leaves me nonplussed. As a Catholic, I had thought:

1. Continence in marriage, although necessary at times and encouraged by the Church at some periods during the liturgical year, is not to be looked upon as a normal or ideal condition for any length of time.

2. The Church does not even encourage the periodic continence of the "rhythm" method, but only tolerates it for sound reasons, such as real danger to health in child-bearing or strict poverty.

3. Larger families than are currently being raised in this country, are, on the contrary, the Church's ideal.

Shall we hew to an ideal of "conservation of human beings" in order that we may be assured of enough food to go around? Granted that Father Gibbons' method of family limitation is morally acceptable in itself, how can he reconcile his suggestion for widespread continence with an attitude of trust in God's Providence to give us our daily bread?

THOMAS C. CLEMENS

Evansville, Indiana

(Fr. Gibbons did not refer explicitly to continence for the married. EDITOR)

About advertising

EDITOR: On page 491 of the September 4 issue you state: "Evidence is abundant that mankind, with its increasing numbers and deep-seated lust for ever higher standards of living, already eats into resource capital."

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J. V. CUNNINGHAM

South Bend, Indiana

EDITOR: Would you be so kind as to tell us how selling more goods, regardless of whether or not such material will help make better men, can ultimately be to our benefit? Does selling more and more fatuous movies, or obscene novels, or denatured food, or seductive perfumes, or contraceptives, finally bring us happiness?

W. QUESNEL

Tucson, Ariz.

EDITOR: I am "over 21" and what I think of advertising helping me or mine is not contained in your "3-way." Keep the back page for a school directory of Catholic institutions, to one of which I should probably like to send my daughter.

ARTHUR P. RYAN

Chicago, Ill.

Social security

EDITOR: Encouraged by the publication of opinions on social security in AMERICA, some of us have given time and study to the economic status of social workers. Among the non-profit organizations there is at this moment a concentrated, intelligent effort among groups of executives and staff workers to gain a permanent legal security status for the agencies engaged in welfare work.

These social workers know very well that industries, shops, offices, chain restaurants, now have social security for employees. It is shocking to learn that the hard-working, generous social workers are ignored.

It seems ironical that men and women who spend so much time and money for others—in the financial demands upon them in drives, in quiet philanthropy from personal funds—may now, unless granted social security, themselves eventually become destitute or dependent.

At present, besides being efficient in case work, court and legal activities and publicity and public relations, social workers must be experienced in platform speaking. Courses in the social sciences absorb much time of workers today. It is necessary to keep informed about the international situation and to be alert to economic and labor matters. With all the practical experience and study demanded of social workers today, it seems only just that they should be allowed to benefit by social security.

Anxious to learn how other social workers felt on the subject, I obtained an interview with Ella G. Harris, Director of the Philadelphia District for the Health and Welfare Council. No person has been so often quoted at staff meetings and case conferences. "Certainly," she said, "all our groups are watching the coverage on social security. . . . We are all watching the bills and resolutions in Washington that will concern the non-profit organizations. Social workers need social security."

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